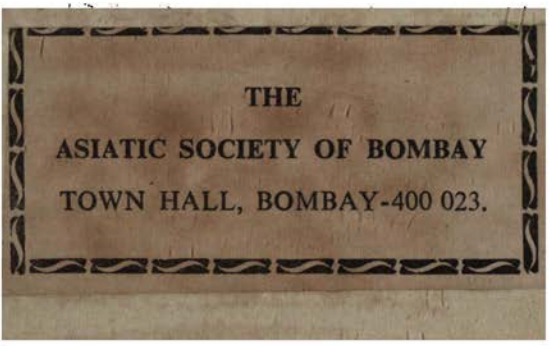
00027147

323.65
Par/Ind
27147




Digitized with financial assistance from the
Mr. Sangi
on 12 April, 2019

00027147

THE WATERLOO SERIES.

# THE INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL LIFE AND DUTIES OF THE CITIZEN

*Being Course III. of the Syllabus prescribed by the Evening School Continuation Code, 1894*

27147

BY

J. EDWARD PARROTT, M.A., LL.B.

RR-C-98

LONDON

W. H. ALLEN & CO., LIMITED

13 WATERLOO PLACE S.W.

351.88

# PRESS NOTICES

OF

# "THE LIFE AND DUTIES OF THE CITIZEN."

BY J. EDWARD PARROTT, M.A., LL.B.

"One of the best, for it gives in little more than a hundred pages a complete account of how we are governed, judged, and taxed, and generally of the present day working of our constitution. This School Board de Lolme merits unqualified praise."—*National Observer.*

"It is probably as good a text-book as could be written."—*Pall Mall.*

"A wonderful shilling's-worth of civic instruction."—*Star.*

"Mr. Parrott is invariably and completely impartial and judicial in his view. This, with accuracy in matter, and his happy manner of dealing with the ethics of the subject, which was, perhaps, the most difficult portion of his work, makes it a valuable addition to our school literature."—*Schoolmaster.*

"A cheerful and stimulating tone pervades the book, which will tend to make it attractive to pupils as well as to teachers. . . . . The work may be read with profit by many persons, old as well as young, outside the ranks of those for whom it is primarily intended."—*Athenæum.*

"Mr. Parrott . . . . . has, on the whole, performed a most delicate and difficult task with much modesty and discrimination."—*Daily Chronicle.*

"This beautifully written and patriotic handbook."—*Liverpool Courier.*

"Mr. Parrott deals with the legal and constitutional rules under which we live clearly and comprehensibly, and the information supplied in his compilation may be relied on as accurate."—*Bookseller.*

"Displays considerable acquaintance with constitutional history."—*Speaker.*

"For average circle purposes, perhaps, 'The Life and Duties of the Citizen,' by J. Edward Parrott, B.A., LL.B., is on the whole the best. . . . . One good feature of Parrott's book is his able tracing, in a few sentences, of the origin and history of institutions, laws, and customs. . . . . Parrott is clear, brief, business-like, and always to the point."—*National Home Reading Union Magazine.*

# PREFACE.

THIS little compilation, which is based upon Course III. of the Education Department's scheme of instruction in civic life and duty, is intended to save teachers the labour of consulting the various authorities and to afford sufficient information on which to base lessons. As in the previous book, the syllabus has been dealt with *seriatim* and as exhaustively as is possible within the limits of 128 pages. It is further hoped that it will be found suitable as a Reading Book for the higher divisions.

The Authorities consulted have been so numerous that space does not permit of the recapitulation of their titles. Reference to the more important of them will, however, be found in the text. The author begs to express his sincere acknowledgments to the following gentlemen who have kindly read portions of the proof-sheets and have afforded him the benefit of their expert criticism and advice :—

Mr. W. G. Baker, M.A.;

Mr. J. C. Gray, Sec. Co-operative Union;

Mr. C. Fenwick, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary, Trades Union Congress;

Mr. T. Ballan Stead, P.H.C.R., Permanent-Sec. of the Ancient Order of Foresters; and

Mr. H. Richmond, H.M. Inspector of Factories.

J. E. P.

Liverpool,

*June* 11*th*, 1894.

# CONTENTS.

PAGE

CHAPTER I.

What constitutes Wealth ... ... ... ... ... ... 7

CHAPTER II.

What constitutes National Wealth—England's material wealth—Every capable, and industrious and self-respecting citizen should add to the wealth of the community ... ... 21

CHAPTER III.

Setting out in life—Selection for boys or girls of work in life—Loss to the nation when they are set to uncongenial labour—Corresponding gain of "tools to the man who can use them"—Relation of skill and knowledge (*a*) to personal well-being and happiness; (*b*) to industrial success; (*c*) to power of public usefulness ... ... ... ... ... ... 28

CHAPTER IV.

Sketch of the history and development of our great industries—Cotton—Woollen—Silk—Linen—Iron and Coal—Earthenware—Changes brought about by the use of machinery and steam ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 37

CHAPTER V.

Associations of workers—Frith-guilds—Merchant-guilds—Craft-guilds ... ... ... ... ... .. ... ... 52

PAGE

CHAPTER VI.

Trade Unions, their origin and growth—The Combination Laws 58

CHAPTER VII.

Trade Unions, their objects and aims—Labour Disputes and Strikes—Conciliation and Arbitration... ... ... ... 71

CHAPTER VIII.

Co-operative Societies; their work in distribution and production ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 88

CHAPTER IX.

Friendly Societies—Training in habits of industry; thrift and self-help—Value of the work of voluntary associations in the education of the adult citizen ... ... ... ... ... 100

CHAPTER X.

Sketch of English Factory Legislation; Modern Factory Acts; Mines Acts; Women's and children's labour; Shop Hours Act—Information as to the condition of workers—Labour Department of the Board of Trade—The Government and Municipalities as employers of labour ... ... ... ... 112

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

The Employer; his functions and qualifications—The importance to the nation of effective, honest, and intelligent management of all forms of business and industry... ... ... 126

# INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL LIFE.

## CHAPTER I.

### INTRODUCTORY.

*What constitutes Wealth.*—When we speak of a merchant's "wealth" we have in our minds the coins or bank-notes in his strong box, his balance at the bank, the debts due to him, his stocks and shares, patent and trade rights, lands and houses, factories and mines, his machinery and implements, his raw and manufactured products, the "good-will" of his business, his horses, carriages, furniture, and so forth. All these things belong to the possessor, and do not belong equally to his neighbour; and they are all capable of a money measure. The affection of friends is doubtless a most desirable possession, but it is not wealth in the ordinary use of the term. It is, perhaps, better than wealth; but we do not class it as such, because it cannot be exchanged for some other object of want or desire.

Wealth consists of "material objects of human desire, which are limited in supply and are not to be obtained for nothing," and this is the meaning of the term, when it is employed in the science of Political Economy, which deals with the body of knowledge relating to wealth

"Material objects of human desire, which are limited in supply and are not to be obtained for nothing," include the necessaries, comforts, and luxuries of life. A man who has an abundance of these might be wealthy, without possessing money at all, as, for example, a pastoral chief. His sheep provide him with food, with wool for his clothes and tents; and in return for food and clothing, he can obtain the services of herdsmen to assist him in the management of his flocks. If he desires a horse possessed by another chief, he can exchange some of his sheep for the horse, and so on with other objects he wishes to have.

But imagine the difficulties that would beset him if he wished to obtain from another, an article worth less than one sheep, or more than one and less than two. In such a state of society, exchanges would be most difficult, and there could be little trade. Take another illustration. Suppose there were no money, and a bootmaker wanted food. He might find a baker with bread to dispose of, who had just then no need for boots. He must go on his travels till he finds a baker ready to exchange bread for boots. The bootmaker might require only six pounds of bread at a time, but his pair of boots would be worth much more. One boot is of no use to the baker, and yet it is worth more than six pounds of bread. What is to be done? After much bargaining, the bootmaker may agree to accept twenty pounds of bread for his boots. Then he must begin the business all over again, and find a butcher who will take his superfluous bread and give him the beef he needs in exchange.

Now, if there were a convenient, easily divisible *some-*

*thing*, which people would accept in return for their articles or services, because they were assured that other people would give their articles or services in exchange for it, that *something* would be doing the work of money. Money, then, is not an end in itself, it is a means to an end, and is, in the first case, only a medium of exchange, capable of saving the vast amount of time and labour, annoyance and disappointment, which must result from a system of barter

The aboriginal Mexicans used cocoa as money; the Abyssinians, rock-salt; the Virginians, tobacco; the savages of the Saharan oases, dates; and the Romans, wheat, cattle, and sheep. In fact, the word "pecuniary" is derived from the Latin "pecus," which means cattle. The precious metals, silver and gold, are now universally used by civilised nations as money; their ductility, their fusibility, their imperishable nature, and the fact that they, always and everywhere, are objects of intense human desire, render gold and silver almost perfect articles of money.

Viewing money as only a medium of exchange, and neglecting its other functions as a common denominator and a store of value, and its service as a standard of deferred payments, we may, for the present, ignore our merchant's coins, and say that his wealth is of three kinds: (1) material gifts of Nature, such as belong exclusively to him; (2) material products of labour, adapted or fashioned by human labour from Nature's gifts; and (3) wealth set aside, to be used for the purpose of producing more wealth. We may roughly call the first group, which is the prime source of his wealth, Land; the second, Labour; and the third Capital. If we now take into consideration the energy

faculties, and habits which directly aid him in earning his livelihood, together with the business connections and associations which assist him, we must class them as Personal Capital, though, as they add to the efficiency of the worker, they, perhaps, belong to Labour rather than to Capital.

*Land, Labour, and Capital.*—The three primary agents in the production of wealth are land, labour, and capital. From the land, we obtain materials for food, clothes, houses, tools, and ornaments. The soil has been called "a fund for the endowment of the human race," as all wealth ultimately comes from it. "The farmer, the planter, the miner, the quarryman, and the lumberman go directly to the land for their goods; the mechanic and the manufacturer reshape and transform the products of the land; the merchant exchanges, and the common carrier transports, the commodities thus produced; the artisan or the labourer, the artist, the author or the parson, cannot work, unless he can buy or hire a spot on the earth's surface to stand upon while he labours."

In a savage state, man may subsist wholly on the products of the land, without any more exertion than is sufficient to pluck the fruit from the trees and convey it to his mouth. He may prey on animals, which have in their turn lived on the wild products of Nature. But when he advances from this hunter state to the pastoral condition, he must labour. He must tame his cattle, sheep, goats, or asses, drive them to fresh pastures, dig wells, store fodder against the season of scarcity, protect his flocks from the attacks of wild beasts, and so on.

When population has increased largely, and man settles

in a place, he tills the ground instead of merely skimming its surface. He ploughs, sows, and reaps, carries food to his cattle, and develops wants, unfelt in his wandering life, for the satisfaction of which he must labour more and more.

But both in the pastoral and agricultural state there is an element introduced of which the savage is nearly ignorant. The wandering chief and the farmer have both turned their thoughts to the time to come, and have denied themselves something in the present, that their subsistence in the uncertan future may be more assured. The chief, obtaining possession of his first few sheep, does not immediately slaughter them all and revel in gluttony. He lives for a time as scantily as is consistent with health and strength, and sets some sheep aside, that they may multiply, and eventually afford him something more than the necessaries of bare existence. This wealth, set aside, the result of his saving, is his capital.

The man who settles on a piece of ground must first obtain, by denying himself, a store of food to support him while he builds his hut and fashions for himself some rude tools with which to scratch the surface of the ground. He must save seeds to sow, and must, in addition, have a supply of food to keep him alive until his crops ripen. His store of provisions, his tools, and his seeds form his capital.

When his crops ripen, he may find himself the possessor of more food than is sufficient to support him until the next harvest. He can then engage the services of other men to assist him in tilling the soil, and so can obtain,

up to a certain point, an increasing return from his land. Or he may reduce his own agricultural toil, and set to work to perfect his tools.

His first tools may have been sharp-edged stones fastened to sticks by thongs of hide. In casting about for improvements, he may have come across pieces of iron-ore and may have built the fireplace of his hut with some of them. The wood of his fire may perhaps have smelted some of the iron, and his casual examination of the product might lead to the adoption of iron in place of stone for the heads of his tools.

His labourers, supplied with these new tools, can now work more efficiently, and his crops will increase in quantity. Further attempts at improvement may result in the manufacture of a rude plough. Neighbouring farmers observing the increase that follows its use, may desire one, like it, for themselves. Our inventor may occupy himself with the manufacture of other ploughs, which he can lend to his neighbours in return for portions of their produce. These ploughs are capital, and the farmer-inventor is a capitalist.

It may be worth his while now, to give himself entirely to the manufacture of ploughs, each succeeding one of which, up to a certain point, he will be able to construct with less effort. Moreover, he may hire men to fetch and carry his iron-ore, and do the more toilsome part of the work. He now commands the labour of others, and his capital consists of the food, which sustains him and his labourers while they produce the ploughs, his tools, and the iron and wood necessary for manufacturing them.

With every increase of his wealth our capitalist develops new wants, and expends some of his surplus wealth in gratifying them. He engages men to build him a better house; he employs others to do menial offices for him; he obtains better clothing, and ornaments himself with trinkets, fashioned by those who will give their skill and labour in return for a portion of his wealth. Up on the hills a plant with bright flowers is perhaps found and brought home as a curiosity. Carefully tended, it develops roots which are nourishing and palatable. A desire for this kind of food springs up, and men devote themselves to its cultivation, and thus agriculture takes new forms. From the new vegetables, fibres are produced, and textile manufactures spring into being.

Capital—*i.e.*, that part of wealth devoted to the production of wealth—has many forms in modern life. Ships, docks, canals for navigation and irrigation, railways and tramways, telegraphs and telephones, waterworks, gasworks, iron and chemical works, shipbuilding yards, printing presses, and large factories full of expensive machinery, represent enormous wealth directly employed in the production of other wealth.

*The Production of Wealth.*—The production of wealth is not the sole interest of mankind, neither is it the highest interest, but it is of such vital concern to individuals and to nations that it is usually the first object of men's thoughts. Wealth is not omnipotent, but there is much that it can do. Besides affording man the means of bodily existence, it is a force which, rightly directed, can produce great and far-reaching results in developing

much that is excellent and of good report in man's nature. Wealth, in itself, is but a means to an end. It is only good or evil according as it is used—rightly and with a sense of responsibility, or wrongly and heedlessly. Wealth is power, and power may be exercised to bring blessing or to work woe. Whoever possesses wealth, no matter how great or how small, is charged with responsibility in its use.

"Whenever we spend money," says Mr. Ruskin, "we, of course, set people to work—*that is the meaning of spending money.*" Imagine a labourer on Saturday night with his week's wages in his pocket. It may not be a large sum, yet it is a power, capable either of conferring benefit on himself and his dependants or of producing much harm to himself and to others.

He may use it to provide himself and his family with shelter, food, comfort, and culture, to a certain extent, until his next week's pay is due. He is calling for the labour of large numbers of workers, artisans, farmers, and so forth, to provide him with house room, beef, tea, coal, flour, sugar, clothing, etc. If he spend a few coppers in the purchase of the good books, now so cheaply offered to him, he is employing the author, the artist, the printer, to provide them for him; and nowadays, for a fraction of his week's earnings, he can bring into the home, a measure of wisdom, comfort and delight.

On the other hand, he may spend his money in drink, in gambling, or other debasing pursuits, and, by so doing, he is employing an army of workers to minister to his indulgences. We may spend our wealth so as to call for the

production of articles that may be beneficial and lasting to ourselves and to the community, or we may demand useless and perishable things. In both cases we are employing labour, but "our selfishness and folly, or our virtue and prudence, are shown, not by our spending money, but by our spending it for the wrong or the right thing."

Generally speaking, every increase of wealth to the working-classes brings an opportunity of adding to the fulness and nobility of life by ministering to real wants not already attained. If wealth is employed in providing the necessities of life and culture, in awakening the higher faculties, and in fostering the sources of happiness which exist within us, such as health of body, of mind, purity of heart, and love towards God and man, its pursuit is entirely noble.

The amount of wealth a community can produce depends on the amount of land power, of labour power, and of capital power available in that country.

We have used the term "land" to signify all material products of Nature which man is able to monopolise, whether they are agricultural products, minerals, water-courses, or the products of seas and rivers. Now, the natural resources of a country are a fixed quantity, though they may be utilised to the full or only to a limited extent. Labour and capital then remain as the only means by which production can be increased. The productiveness of labour depends on (1) the efficiency of the individual labourer and (2) on the organisation of labour.

(1.) The efficiency of the labourer depends, first, on the physical force with which he is endowed. This bodily

strength varies greatly amongst individuals and among races. Mr. Brassey, who employed English navvies in the construction of certain French railways, found that the Englishman's power of work was to that of the Frenchman as five to three, and other illustrations might be given in which the average strength of one race exceeds that of another by fifty or a hundred per cent.

But in industrial countries like our own, less than one-sixth of the workers are required to put forth any great physical exertion, such as lifting or pulling. The use of draught animals, the steam-engine, the hydraulic lift, etc., has reduced enormously the amount of sheer muscular force required. In fact, the power exerted by our steam-engines alone is more than twenty times as much as could be supplied by the muscles of all Englishmen.

It is the general vigour of the labourer, the strength of the man's resolution, his self-mastery, his power of continuous exertion, that in our country constitute the source of his productiveness. This general vigour is largely affected by the climate of a country. Hot climates seem to impair the labourer's power to undergo hard exertion for a long time. The English navvy, in the construction of certain English railroads, received three shillings to three shillings and sixpence per day, while the Indian labourer, engaged on a similar work in his own country, was remunerated with fourpence-halfpenny to sixpence per day, and yet the total cost of similar railroads constructed in the two countries was almost the same.

Another more important factor in the labourer's efficiency is the amount, character, and preparation of the food which

he consumes. Food is to a man what coal and water are to a steam-engine. With a proper supply of suitable fuel the engine will do more work than if it is stinted or badly stoked. Just so with the man. A liberal, generous diet, "ample to supply all the waste of the tissues, and to keep the fire of the body burning briskly so as to generate force enough to allow the labourer to put forth great muscular exertion through long periods of time," is the truest economy, for it enables the worker to reach the highest degree of bodily efficiency.

In the United States, the inhabitants are, as a whole, thoroughly well-nourished, and their great power of industrial production is undeniable. "Many a French factory hand," says Lord Brabazon, "never has anything better for his breakfast than a large slice of common sour bread, rubbed over with an onion to give it a flavour." No man would be so foolish as to believe that if he gave his horses an insufficient amount of food, he would get a high rate of muscular strength and activity from them.

The sanitary conditions of the labourer's life affect considerably his power to work. Human beings confined in small, ill-ventilated rooms waste much of their vigour. The proper digestion of their food is prevented by the foul air, and so the food does not generate the amount of vitality it ought. The germs of such diseases as typhus and typhoid fever, scarlet fever, and diphtheria find a happy hunting-ground in unventilated, uncleansed dwellings, and their ravages directly and indirectly reduce the efficiency of the labourers occupying such places. In addition, a sense of freedom and hope, security of person and property, and the

opportunity of change of work and scene, not only increase a man's willingness, but also his power of work.

Perhaps the most important factor in industrial efficiency is the intelligence of the labourer, his alertness of mind, his clear-headedness, his strength of memory, his promptness, his adaptability, and his power of carrying out a train of thought. An intelligent labourer, apart from the possession of technical skill, can learn his trade in a half or a third the time a dull man requires. He does not need continual watching, he can carry out his instructions with discretion, he is less wasteful of materials, and he can apply his trained wits to the ready manipulation, to the adjustment, and the necessary repair of the machinery entrusted to him. Thus it is highly advantageous to the ordinary worker to start in life with the general training which a good school supplies.

(2.) There are many advantages resulting from the organisation of labour which we need not dwell upon here. It will be sufficient to point out the most striking of them which the term "Division of Labour" suggests. In early times a man was a sort of "Jack-of-all-trades." The farmer-inventor, whom we have previously imagined, had at first to build his own hut, shape his own tools, care for his cattle, and till the ground for himself. But, even in this primitive state, there was a division of labour between himself and his wife. She would shape skins into garments, cook the food, and attend to household duties, while he was busy on the farm. We imagined him, later, as giving his time to the making of agricultural implements, because he found himself capable of doing this better than his neighbours. Even

then, he had to work in stone, in wood, and in iron. But as the amount of his work increased, he would probably confine himself to the working of iron, while another would do the wood-working, and others dig the iron-ore out of the mountain. As wants multiplied, new classes of workers would come into existence, each working on some one class of substances or making some one class of articles. "The cabinet-maker follows the carpenter, the jeweller, the blacksmith, the sculptor, in time, the mason."

At length, we come to a stage when it is discovered that if a person confines himself to performing the same set of operations, day after day, on the same materials, presented to him in the same form, he gains wonderful dexterity and rapidity. The making of an article is then distributed among distinct classes of labourers, and production is enormously increased.

In modern life, by the use of machinery, division of labour is carried out to an extraordinary extent, so that thousands of men, women, and children find their entire occupation in constantly repeating some comparatively simple process. The result of this combination is that a hundred workers can produce *far more than a hundred times* what the best workman can produce alone.

The beneficial results of the division of labour are: (1) it shortens apprenticeship; (2) it develops dexterity; (3) it does away with the loss of time and distraction of thought occasioned in passing from place to place and in laying down the tools of one trade and taking up those of another; (4) it encourages invention and economises tools and machines; (5) it enables women, children, and the partially

disabled to work; and (6) it enables each man to devote himself more completely to the work for which he is best fitted.

The objections to the modern system are that it makes the work monotonous and employment precarious, for should the demand for the product a factory hand is helping to make fall off, or should machinery come into use to displace him, he will find great difficulty in turning his hand to another employment. Further, it tends to bring together large bodies of people, who live in crowded towns and are required to labour in heated, and perhaps ill-ventilated, workshops. Such objections are based on social and moral considerations, for the gain to production, which results from the division of labour, can scarcely be over-estimated.

The increase in the quantity of capital employed is the second of the ways in which production may be increased. It will be remembered that we have defined Capital as "that part of wealth devoted to the production of wealth," and we have shown that its three forms are, means of subsistence to the producer, his tools, and the materials which he can work up into many and various forms to suit the wants and desires of man. The quantity of capital possessed, depends on the power to save—that is, on the excess of wealth produced over that consumed; and secondly on the will of persons to save—that is, on the quality of thrift. One of the chief motives of saving is family affection; and a man can scarcely have a stronger inducement to energy and enterprise than the hope of rising in life and affording his family the opportunity of starting in the social scale where he has left off.

## CHAPTER II.

### NATIONAL WEALTH.

*What constitutes National Wealth.*—National wealth consists of (1) the material wealth of all the individuals composing the nation; (2) those material goods which are collectively enjoyed, and are not in the ownership of private individuals; (3) those immaterial benefits which individuals enjoy by reason of their association in a state; and (4) that intangible wealth which consists in the national character and capability.

With Class 1 we have already dealt.

As a nation advances, it employs its wealth more and more in the construction and maintenance of property for the benefit of all. Roads, and in some countries, canals and railways, are made at the expense of the body of citizens comprising the nation or inhabiting particular parts of the country. These are public conveniences for facilitating intercourse or the exchange of goods, and are open to the use of people generally. Navigable rivers are preserved, dredged, and widened at the public expense for the use of all. Public buildings are erected for furthering the objects of government, local and central, for the education of children, and for affording general enjoyment and instruction by means of collections of

books, pictures, and curiosties. Public baths and wash-houses, parks and recreation grounds, sewage works, hospitals, etc., minister to public health. Gasworks and waterworks are often erected or purchased at the expense of rate-payers for the convenience of all, and so on.

These collective establishments may be the property of the nation as a whole, as in the case of Government buildings, ships of war, arsenals, harbours, breakwaters, light-houses, etc., or may belong to the inhabitants of particular districts. In both cases they form part of the national wealth. The climate of a country, its supply of light and air, and its beautiful scenery, are elements in a nation's wealth, and though man cannot create them, he can do something to preserve them in the interests of all.

In Class 3 are the benefits which flow to individuals from the State, such as freedom, security of life and property, opportunities of using public property and conveniences, the right administration of justice, the facilities it offers for education, etc. The organisation of a free and well-ordered State is perhaps the highest wealth it can own. It is scarcely possible to over-estimate its effect on the acquisition of wealth in all its forms.

In Class 4 we have placed the wealth which a nation possesses in its national character and capability for advance. In that degree in which the organisation of the State is due to the national character, the two last classes blend into one. The skill and resolution of Englishmen, their self-reliance, their hatred of tyranny, their submission to lawful authority, their physical endurance, and their power of organised action are qualities which have enabled

them to acquire the vast material wealth they own to-day. Other nations are now pressing us hard in the race for industrial supremacy, and if our lead is to be maintained, these splendid qualities must be fostered and developed to the greatest possible extent. In this same class we may include all ennobling thoughts, all embodiments of them in art, all combinations of sweet sounds, all scientific and commercial knowledge, all contributions tending to make us wiser, better, and happier, which Englishmen have offered to their fellows.

Owing to the modern facilities of intercourse with other nations, this kind of wealth tends quickly to become the property of the world at large.

In a word, then, national wealth consists of everything which, either directly or by means of commerce, yields the materials on which man can work, every fresh form or arrangement of matter which ministers more or less completely to man's wants, every service rendered, everything in a nation that tends to the maintenance and extension of freedom and order, right, health, peace, happiness, together with everything that enables the citizen to realise the highest ideals of human life.

Many of the finest and most precious portions of a nation's wealth are the gains of civilisation, those "subtle elements of confidence and goodwill" which give life to all our social, industrial, and commercial operations.

*England's Material Wealth.*—Our present position as the wealthiest nation under the sun, as the mart of the world, and the prime centre of industry and trade has been brought about by the energy, skill, enterprise, and patient

forethought of the English race working on certain bountiful resources, and aided by certain advantageous geographical conditions.

Our abundant supplies of good coal enable us to use the steam-engine in the most effective fashion, and our great natural wealth of minerals and metals in proximity to the coal, enable us to excel in the most important branch of manufacturing industry, to wit, the making of machinery.

Our insular climate, neither so hot as to enervate nor so cold as to stint physical energy, is particularly well adapted for a manufacturing people. The fact that the prevailing wind comes laden with moisture from the Atlantic renders our climate suitable for the manufacture of cotton, woollen, and other textile fabrics. It is said that there is a decrease of five per cent. in the amount of cotton cloth manufactured in a mill, when the wind blows for a time from the east, the difference being due to the dryness of the atmosphere, which renders the yarn tender and brittle.

Our geographical position in the centre of the land hemisphere, the encircling highway of the ocean, the comparative proximity of all places to the sea, our abundant and excellent harbours, and the contour of our country lend themselves to easy and speedy communication.

It is a matter of great difficulty to estimate England's material wealth, but probably, valued in money measure, it is somewhere about 10,000 millions of pounds. Some idea of its increase in modern times is furnished by the Income Tax returns, showing the property and profits assessed during the year.

In 1855 it amounted to 308 millions sterling, in 1865

to 396 millions, in 1875 to 571 millions, in 1882 to 601½ millions, and in 1891 to 698½ millions. The development and progress of our manufacturing industry during the last hundred years, and the corresponding increase of wealth is a spectacle unsurpassed in the history of the world.

It is important to notice that natural advantages alone do not make people rich. In fact, by removing the stimulus of want, they may seriously impede progress.

The great success which has attended our trade and commerce is due in a large degree to the self-development of our resources, and to the growth, direction, and husbanding of our national skill and forethought. England has been in turns a "corn-growing, wool-growing, and coal-producing island," and the changes from one employment to another have been less due to climatic conditions than to a keen national appreciation of the resources available within the country.

*Every Capable and Industrious and Self-respecting Citizen should add to the Wealth of the Community.*—Without wealth in some form or other, we, as individuals, cannot exist, and every increase of wealth brings opportunities for an increase of well-being to ourselves or to others. The wealth of a nation is likewise necessary to its existence and necessary to its development.

Every increase in its wealth makes the fund larger from which it is possible for all to get an increased share, and is capable of being so used as to realise more and more the highest ideals of life.

That part of wealth subtracted from individual wealth for application to purely State objects is "an engine of

gigantic power for great national purposes," and the increase of the fund from which this is drawn, or the elimination of some national charges due to unthrifty habits or bad administration, means extended power to elevate the nation as a whole.

To add to his own wealth, no industrious and self-respecting citizen will need to be encouraged.

But it should be borne in mind that all additions to a nation's material goods are not necessarily additions to its welfare. The day of Rome's greatest opulence was the day of its decay. Every citizen who labours honestly and skilfully and brings intelligence to his task is, in a sense, by the silent force of his example, as well as by his work, doing his part in adding to the nation's wealth. National material wealth is only a means to an end, and that end is the physical, intellectual, and moral welfare of the whole people.

The wealth of our nation in the past has built churches, endowed colleges, erected schools and hospitals, founded charities, encouraged missionary work, explored continents, discovered the laws of Nature, protected the weak and oppressed, fed the hungry and freed the slaves. There is no man in the State who has not benefited consciously or unconsciously from this wise expenditure of wealth.

Wealth is power, and the increase of wealth means increased power, increased power for the defence of public virtue and for the enlargement of public welfare. When wealth is employed in increasing intelligence, in ministering to the hopefulness and moral vigour of the people, in sustaining their energy, in fostering their enterprise, and in

brightening and blessing their whole existence, it is not only satisfying the higher wants of life, but is creating Social Capital for future material production.

There may be many conflicting opinions as to the right methods of producing and distributing the nation's wealth, but there can only be one opinion as to the desirability of so increasing it as to speed that time when "there shall be no complaining in our streets, and when our garners may be full, affording all manner of store."

National wealth can do much to promote intelligence and morality, hopefulness and happiness among the people, and much public money is annually expended in this direction. But more can be done, and the citizen who looks to the good of the State will do his part to add to that national accumulation from which all may receive bountiful blessings.

## CHAPTER III.

### SETTING OUT IN LIFE.

*Selection for Boys and Girls of their Work in Life.*—The happiness, usefulness, and success in life of boys and girls very largely depend on the wisdom displayed in the choice of the kind of work in which they shall engage.

A wise father will carefully consider his son's bent, his physical fitness, his mental equipment, his future prospects, and his chance of happiness before launching him upon a career. He will consider whether his child has shown any special aptitude for some particular branch of industry, and will consult, as far as is practicable, the child's own inclinations and preferences. He will know that whatever is undertaken from the child's choice will most likely bring out the child's best efforts, provoke his enthusiasm, stimulate his invention and skill, and make his employment pleasurable and profitable in the highest degree.

If his son is afflicted with a tendency to certain complaints, a wise father will avoid, as far as he can, any employment likely to aggravate these weaknesses. For instance, if a child is ailing or delicate he will not condemn

him to constant employment indoors, with little opportunity for exercise or fresh air. If the boy has weak sight, it will be folly to give him an occupation which calls for clearness of vision.

And the same is true of a child's mental powers. Though not a few men of mark gave little indication of ability in childhood, these are exceptions, and an observant father, taking counsel with his son's teachers, can generally estimate pretty fairly the mental powers with which his son has been endowed.

The question, "What shall I do with my boy?" is rendered most difficult nowadays by the keenness of competition which exists, and parents are tempted to eagerly seize any opening that offers itself, irrespective of their children's desires, aptitudes, and personal fitness. Some parents will solve the difficulty by letting their children follow in their own footsteps, and by so doing they are often acting wisely; but, even here, it is important that there should be physical fitness and a willing desire on the part of the child.

We may divide the employments open to the majority of the children of the working-classes into the soft-handed and the hard-handed industries. In the former class, we may place clerks, shopkeepers, etc., and in the latter artisans and labourers.

Unfortunately, in the eyes of some, there is a sort of gentility associated with the former class, and many parents, especially in large towns, allow their sons to drift into clerkships, which, though well-paid at the outset, require no special skill or technical training, and, as a con-

sequence, become so overcrowded that remuneration is low, though the work is hard and monotonous, and the possibility of advance remote.

The parent who puts a good trade or business into his son's fingers is arming him well for the battle of life. The skilled artisan has a future; he may become a foreman or employer, and should he wish to seek his fortune in a less crowded country, he has every chance of success.

We have seen that in our country the use of machinery is daily reducing the amount of mere muscular energy required from labourers. From this it will appear than unskilled labourers, who are even now badly paid, have a dark future before them, for an increasing amount of their fetching and carrying, lifting and pulling, will be the work of steam- and water-power.

Further, that manual skill, which is of such a special character that it is wholly incapable of being transferred from one occupation to another, is becoming of less importance in industrial life. In fact, when bodily actions become merely routine work, they have generally arrived at the stage when machinery can be employed.

*Loss to the Nation when the Young are set to Uncongenial Labour.*—We have said that every good citizen should do his best to add to the wealth of the community. If children are set to uncongenial and unsuitable labour, the production of national wealth brought about by their agency will fall short of what it would have been, had they performed duties which, instead of being distasteful and irksome, brought into operation their natural tastes and special tendencies.

The whole community may be likened to a machine

of great intricacy, constructed of a large number of parts, differently shaped, and all having different functions to perform. One little wheel out of gear will affect the harmonious action of the whole. Every worker who is a "square peg in a round hole," every worker who does his part in a perfunctory fashion, impelled only by the necessity of earning a livelihood, every worker whose heart and mind are not in his task, is an inefficient part of the great industrial machine.

It is, perhaps, impossible to chose for each person that which he can perform best; but much may be accomplished by the careful observation and foresight of parents. Further, those workers who find pleasure in their occupation can produce more and better work in a given time with a less expenditure of effort. Excessive toil is unfavourable to efficiency, and willing and contented workers will always produce better results than those whose labour is burdensome and oppressive.

Our national character, as we have already pointed out, is an important element in our national wealth. "The methods by which wealth is produced act directly and powerfully upon the character of the whole people." "A happy, hopeful, independent, energetic, enterprising people —a people mentally alert and morally vigorous"—is the chief source of strength to a community. Whatever makes men sullen, spiritless, and indifferent tends to undermine the foundations of a nation's prosperity.

It is from the working-classes that many of our thinkers, inventors, "captains of industry," and leaders in reform have sprung; yet, many of those who possess much natural

ability, which might minister to the highest aspirations of men, are forced to give up to lowly occupations that which might adorn and bless mankind. It has been well said that nothing can be more harmful to the growth of national wealth than the negligence which thus allows genius to be unprofitably expended.

*Corresponding Gain of Tools to the Man who can use them.* —The term "tools" is usually applied to all those products of labour *with which* producers operate.

We shall use it to include, in addition, the intelligence, energy, natural faculties, and skill which form the most important part of a worker's personal capital.

The possession of products of labour set aside to assist in the further production of wealth is, of course, a great advantage. "The knife, the bow, the spear, the canoe, the net, are the tools of a certain stage of industrial society; the spade, the cart, the plough, the distaff, the forge, are the tools of a later stage; the loom, the lathe, the printing press, the steam-hammer, the railroad and the ship, may, with equal propriety, be called the tools of to-day."

Robinson Crusoe, cast upon his desert island, saved from the wreck, spades, guns, and knives. With these, he was readily enabled to get food and clothing in abundance; without them he would have merely existed as a wild animal.

And this leads us to notice that "tools," whether they are instruments or faculties, are of little advantage unless they can be used effectively. A lathe is of little use to an untrained worker; even a trained athlete, of great muscular development, if unused to the work, would probably

carry a smaller number of bricks in a day than an ordinary hodman, and many men with great mental powers are unable to apply them properly. Training, of one sort or another, is absolutely necessary to fit a man to use "tools" of any kind to the best advantage.

Ability is of two kinds, general and specialised. We have already spoken of the influence of a good general education on the intelligence and productive capacity of the worker.

Manual dexterity and knowledge of particular materials and processes, for the special purposes of trades, are also products of education. Such ability can only be acquired in a workshop, but education in a school or technical classes may prepare and make plain the way for its speedy and intelligent acquisition, by training the eyes and fingers, imparting artistic knowledge, and teaching methods of investigation, which are useful in all occupations.

"To be able to bear in mind many things at a time; to have everything ready when wanted; to act promptly and show resource when anything goes wrong; to accommodate oneself quickly to changes in details of the work done; to be steady and trustworthy; to have a reserve of force, which will come out in emergency"—these are some of the most important "tools" of an industrial people, and everything which tends to stimulate these qualities is a distinct impetus to the production of material wealth.

*Relation of Skill and Knowledge to* (a) *Personal Well-being and Happiness.*—In every one of us there should be, and usually is, a desire to attain to excellence for its own sake. "Whatever is worth doing at all is worth doing well."

A skilful man experiences real delight in the exercise of his powers. His work is full of interest to him, he becomes absorbed in it, and his mind is wholly employed in producing something that more and more tests and exhibits his power. To this end, he will not be satisfied with the knowledge he already possesses, but will seek to extend his acquaintance with everything that bears on his work.

A good workman is continually raising his standard of work. Comparison with his early efforts, the constantly growing ease with which he now performs a task, once full of difficulty, serve to mark his progress, and every production, better than the last, is a source of pride that urges him nearer and nearer to the goal of perfection.

A man, skilful in his work and interested in all that concerns it, develops in time, earnestness, concentration of mind, and high ideals. Such a workman, seeking to extend his knowledge of his craft, probably enters the world of books and is led to the pursuit of further wisdom.

(b) *To Industrial Success.*—The artisan who possesses skill and knowledge in a high degree, expects, and sometimes obtains, a higher rate of remuneration than the average workman. He can produce more and better work in a given time, he is less wasteful, he can be trusted to use delicate and costly machinery, and he is more ready to seize upon new ideas and methods. Generally speaking, it will be worth his master's while to raise his wage rather than lose his services. In case of a reduction in the number of workmen engaged in a factory, the first to be dismissed are the less efficient.

From the more skilful and capable workers, foremen and

managers are chosen. A first-class workmen may accumulate a little capital and start work on his own account.

But, nowadays, the "little master," as the small manufacturer is called in the Sheffield trades, must possess a good deal of originating and organising force, and his mind and energies must be of a superior stamp, for he must at first engage in routine work, act as his own foreman, and conduct personally the commercial affairs of his undertaking.

On the other hand, there are compensating advantages. His eye is everywhere, there is no shirking, no divided responsibility, no cumbrous system of checks, such as are necessary in a large establishment. Trade secrets are now rapidly diminishing in importance, improved methods of manufacture easily become known, and trade knowledge is widely gathered and brought to his door by means of the penny newspaper.

Though such a small manufacturer can seldom, in this day of gigantic establishments, be in the van of progress, he need not fall far into the rear if he employ energy, knowledge, and skill in the conduct of his business. "There is always room at the top," and in the long-run talent and honest perseverance will meet with their reward.

"Many employers of labour," says Professor Marshall, "in some parts of England more than half, have risen from the ranks of labour. Every artisan who has exceptional natural abilities has a chance of raising himself to a post of command."

But it should be remembered that high wages and large profits are not the sole or the highest object of life. They

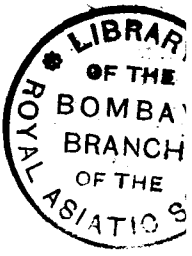
are desired that, "with less of anxiety and less of uncertainty as to the future, the working-man may be enabled to enter on a purer and more worthy life." In proportion as the worker knows how to rightly use the increase, will it confer a real and lasting benefit on him.

It is worth bearing in mind that a man who remains a workman all his days may be, in all essential qualities of manhood, of greater value to the State than another who raises himself to wealth and rank.

(c) *To Power of Public Usefulness.*—In Course I. we pointed out the absolute necessity that exists for an active co-operation of the whole body of people in the business of government. "Public life brings public duties, and the citizen who stands aside and neglects them, or, being called upon to serve in a representative character, shirks his responsibilities, has no right to expect either just legislation or impartial administration in the affairs of the State."

As we have already seen in the previous book,* there are a variety of local governing bodies, in the election and work of which every citizen should take a close interest. The possession of skill and knowledge, as we have shown, tends to elevate a man's moral character and mental resources, and thus equip him the better to select wise representatives, form right judgments on public affairs, and, if called upon, undertake the responsible duties of a representative or an administrator of justice.

* "The Life and Duties of the Citizen." Allen & Co., Limited. (1s.)




## CHAPTER IV.

### SKETCH OF THE HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF OUR GREAT INDUSTRIES.

ONE hundred and thirty years ago, the Thirty Years' War came to an end, and England found herself the first political power of Europe. During the next thirty years she was sowing the seeds of the industrial supremacy with which she has since been blessed.

But at that time, her position as a manufacturing nation was not conspicuous. Manchester boasted no tall smoking chimneys and no miles of factories; the quantity of cotton she consumed in the manufacture of her fustians and dimities was insignificant; Liverpool had only three floating-docks, most of her ships were engaged in the slave trade, and American barques had not yet entered the Mersey. Leeds and Bradford were unimportant towns, and Birmingham was just rising into notice. London was the only place of real importance in the kingdom, and though all the foreign trade of the country passed through her streets, she had not then a tithe of the shipping that now crowds the Thames. London contained only half a million inhabitants, one bridge spanned the river, there

was not a single dock, the Stock Exchange did not exist, and scarcely any of the great institutions and buildings, which characterise the London of to-day, had come into being.

We propose to trace in brief outline the development of some of the industries which have made England the foremost manufacturing country of the world.

*Cotton.*—Up to the Middle Ages cotton seems never to have constituted the ordinary clothing of the people. In England the consumption of cotton was mainly confined to the manufacture of candle-wicks, and nearly all the cotton imported, came from the Continent. As late as the accession of George III. no fabric consisting entirely of cotton was made in England. Suddenly, however, by the operation of certain remarkable inventions, a revolution was wrought, and cotton pressed forward by leaps and bounds to its present prominent position among our industries.

The huge bare buildings, with their hundreds of windows, in which the mill-hands of to-day congregate, did not exist 150 years ago. Inside the narrow red-brick houses of Lancashire towns, were domestic workshops, in which families contributed by their labour to produce cotton cloth, or rather cloth with a linen warp and a weft of cotton-wool. The linen yarn was purchased in a prepared state, the wool for the weft was carded and spun by the wife and daughters, and the cloth was woven by the father and his sons. The spinning was done on the old-fashioned spinning-wheel, even now to be met with in rural parts of Scotland and Ireland. It merely consisted of a broad-rimmed wheel, worked by a treadle, which rotated a spindle arranged on a frame.

In 1767, or thereabouts, the "spinning-jenny" was invented by James Hargreaves, a weaver of Blackburn. Before his time one thread only could be spun at a time. Hargreaves' jenny consisted at first of eight spindles, turned by a horizontal wheel, but it was afterwards enlarged and improved so as to give motion to eighty spindles at once. Hargreaves' jenny enabled one person to do the work formerly accomplished by fifty or eighty operatives.

Richard Arkwright, the barber's apprentice, who afterwards became a knight, and founded one of the wealthiest families in England, further improved the machinery for providing yarn about 1769. He applied rollers to the stretching of the yarn, and so regulated the counts or thickness of the thread. By means of these rollers, working in connection with spindles, he was enabled to produce a uniform yarn, and the application of water-power to the apparatus, facilitated rapid production at vastly decreased expense.

Mr. Samuel Crompton of Bolton, in 1775, combined Hargreaves' spinning-jenny with Arkwright's arrangement, and so produced the mule. This invention marked an epoch in the spinning branch of the industry. Yarn of the finest character could now be spun, and English weavers for the first time were able to successfully compete with Indian manufacturers in the production of muslin.

The impetus given to the industry by the introduction of the mule was enormous. Our imports of cotton-wool rose from 6½ million pounds in 1780 to 132½ million pounds in 1810. Now, our annual consumption exceeds ten times the latter amount.

Improvements in the mule were rapidly made. Mr. Roberts of Manchester succeeded in making the mule self-acting, so that now a man and a boy can tend a pair of mules running 2,600 spindles, which accomplish the work formerly done by 750 persons. These improvements in spinning machinery stimulated efforts to improve the appliances for weaving.

Dr. Cartwright, in 1785, produced a rude model of the power-loom, which was afterwards perfected and brought into general use. Since that time progress has been astounding, and perfection has nearly been attained.

The capability of the power-loom is a remarkable testimony to man's ingenuity. The most intricate patterns are wrought in every variety of material, and man is only required to adjust and superintend. Five distinct actions are performed by a power-loom, viz.: (1) raising and lowering alternately the two sets of warp-thread; (2) moving the shuttle through the threads; (3) the driving up of the threads of the weft after the shuttle is thrown; (4) unwinding the warp as required; and (5) winding up the completed cloth. The machines work automatically, and a speed of from 200 to 400 shots of the shuttle per minute can be attained.

The application of steam, as a motive power of the highest order, enabling mills to be established in any convenient place, and making manufacture independent of flowing streams and human force, will be dealt with later on.

Professor Leone Levi calculated that if all the yarn were spun by hand, which is spun in the course of a year by a

machine spinning 1,000 threads simultaneously, 100 million men would be required to spin it.

In 1764 the art of calico printing, formerly carried on in London, was introduced into Lancashire, and in its adopted home it has thriven marvellously. The application of chlorine in the process of bleaching, introduced from France by James Watt, the inventor of the steam-engine, has done away with the former method of sending cotton goods to Holland for open-air bleaching, and has resulted in an enormous saving of time and money. To the introduction of expensive machinery in the manufacture of cotton, the modern factory system owes its existence.

Mr. Thomas Ellison, an eminent authority, thus writes: "A century ago the value of the cotton, woollen, and linen yarns and piece-goods produced in Great Britain and Ireland was about 22 million pounds . . . of recent years the value has been about 170 millions. . . . The total amount of capital employed is about 200 millions, and at least five million people—men, women, and children—are dependent upon these industries for their livelihood. Moreover, one-half of the value of British and Irish products exported, consists of textiles."

*Wool.*—There is little doubt that the making of woollen cloths was introduced into Britain by the Romans, though woollen manufacture did not become a staple trade until the time of the Norman kings. Edward I. gave many facilities to foreign merchants, and the foreign market for English wool greatly improved. Flemish weavers were invited to England by Edward III.

At that date Norwich had long been known for her

baize, Sudbury for her serges, Colchester for her broadcloth, Gloucester for her cloth, and Kendal for her coarse cloth. The worsted manufacture appears to have taken its name from the town of Worstead in Norfolkshire, one of its earliest seats in England. For a considerable time London and York continued to be most important centres of the industry, but the increasing price of provisions, the high rate of wages, the difficulty of obtaining suitable streams for the scouring and fulling of cloth, and the restrictions imposed on the manufacture by hurtful legislation and municipal regulation, ignorantly designed to increase the trade, drove the manufacture away from London to the valleys and towns of Yorkshire.

There it remained for a long time in a dull and unsatisfactory condition, fearful of French competition, which it was unable to overcome. The French had learned how to use a mixture of native and foreign wool, and better methods of spinning; but English manufacturers, instead of emulating their example, sought to retain their trade by protection and restriction. There was little alteration or improvement in the manufacture, beyond variations of pattern and colour, until the early part of the eighteenth century.

Owing to difficulties of adaptation, the English woollen manufacture has profited more slowly than cotton by the introduction of machinery; but the difficulties have been surmounted, and spinning, carding, and weaving machines, with modifications, are somewhat similar in both manufactures. At Dewsbury and in other parts of Yorkshire old woollen rags are torn to pieces by the action of ma-

chinery and manufactured into a new cloth, called Shoddy or Mungo.

The "Woolsack," the seat of the Lord Chancellor in the House of Lords, is a large square bag of wool, introduced in the reign of Elizabeth, as symbolising the most important source of the nation's wealth at that time.

In 1860 the total imports of wool were 344½ million pounds and in 1891 they reached 720 million pounds, of which 418 million pounds came from Australasia.

*Silk.*—One of the most far-reaching influences on English industry was the immigration of French and Flemish refugees in the seventeenth century. From the middle of the sixteenth to the end of the seventeenth century there was a constant influx of foreigners, the greatest number coming over at the time of the Sack of Antwerp by the Duke of Parma in 1583, and before and after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV. The refugees entered practically every trade, though the largest number invaded the textile industries. As many as 50,000 industrious silk workers left France about 1685, and many of them settled in Spitalfields, London. They infused, however, such new life into the silk trade that it speedily became one of the most important of English industries, and Lyons, its old centre, for the time, declined.

In 1713 it was maintained that the trade had increased twenty-fold since 1664, and that 40,000 men, women, and children were employed in London alone. Duties and other legislative restrictions, however, cramped the growth of this industry, and it was only in 1859 that all duties on silk manufacture were removed. As a consequence,

during the last fifty years the silk trade has improved more than it had formerly done during centuries.

The silk manufacture is now chiefly located in Spitalfields and Bethnal Green, London, in Macclesfield, Congleton, Nottingham, Derby, Coventry, and Leek in Staffordshire.

Silk-throwing, the process of adapting raw silk for the fabrication of cloth, is a special branch of English industry. Of late years the waste of the throwing mill has been manufactured into silk thread. In 1890 there were 623 silk factories in the United Kingdom, giving employment to about 42,900 persons.

*Linen.*—In 1764 the English Linen Company was established, but its operations were exceedingly small. In Ireland, the industry has been fostered by premiums and bounties to take the place of the woollen trade, which was supposed to be prejudicing that of England. In 1829 the bounty paid amounted to £300,000, or nearly one-seventh of the value of the linen exported in that year. The effect of the bounties was bad, for manufacturers sought to obtain a bounty rather than to produce a superior article.

When the bounty system was withdrawn, attention was directed to the production of better goods and the business improved though it never took root until the manufacture ceased to be a domestic one and was carried on in mills by the aid of machinery. In 1819, when yarns were mostly made by hand, only 40 million yards of cloth were exported from Ireland. In 1849 this had increased to 75 million yards, and the value of linen goods exported from Ireland to Great Britain is now estimated at about £10,000,000.

In 1727 a Board of Trustees was formed in Scotland for the superintendence and improvement of the linen manufacture, which was fostered, as in Ireland. In 1782 the bounties ceased, and, owing to the improvement of machinery and the greater regularity with which supplies of raw material were obtained from the north of Europe, the trade began to rapidly increase.

In 1745 only 74 tons of flax were imported into Dundee; in 1830 the imports reached 15,000 tons, and in 1883 26,760 tons, in addition to 938 tons of hemp and 206,710 tons of jute, were imported. The importation of jute, now manufactured into cordage, coarse cloth for bagging, etc., commenced about 1830. The headquarters of the industry are at Dundee, and the value of the jute manufactured in 1892 exceeded £2,800,000.

The chief seat of the English linen manufacture is in Leeds and the neighbourhood, where spinning is carried on very extensively. A room in one of the factories of that town covers two acres in extent and would furnish standing room for 80,000 persons. Ireland and Scotland, however, are much larger manufacturers of linen than England. The introduction of machinery in the linen manufacture is of recent origin, and follows, with adaptations, the inventions for the spinning and weaving of cotton. A century ago the total value of the linen produced in Great Britain and Ireland was £4,000,000; now it is about £20,000,000.

*Iron and Coal.*—In former times, iron was largely worked in the south of England, notably in Sussex, now a purely agricultural district. Up to the middle of the eighteenth century the fuel used for smelting iron-ore was charcoal, and

it was the rapid falling off in the supplies of timber that led to the great diminution of the industry, which in the time of Elizabeth had risen to the importance of a great export trade. Special enactments were afterwards enforced for the preservation of forests; and the production of iron in 1740 was only 17,000 tons.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, important iron industries had begun to cluster round Coalbrookdale. Abraham Darby, casting about for a cheap and effective substitute for charcoal, hit upon the expedient of turning coal into coke and using this product for the smelting of the ore in his blast-furnaces. This discovery revolutionised the art of casting in iron, though it remained a secret process for some time. Between 1766 and 1784 various improvements were made in the mode of producing malleable iron, with little carbon in its composition, from the highly carbonised pig-iron produced by the blast-furnace.

In 1784 Mr. Henry Cort perfected his invention for puddling iron and rolling it into bars and plates. His invention consisted in removing the carbon of the pig-iron by exposing it to the action of currents of air and flame, in which process the oxygen of the air combined with the carbon of the iron, and the phosphorous and other alloys were carried away with the slag.

In 1828 Neilson invented the hot-blast for blast-furnaces, in place of the cold one hitherto used, an invention of great importance in the history of iron manufacture, increasing the production of iron vastly, and enabling the iron-master to smelt otherwise useless and irreducible ores. The invention of the steam-engine gave an enormous impetus to

the manufacture of iron and enabled a blast of increased force and regularity to be obtained from the blowing-engines.

In 1842 the Nasmyth steam-hammer gave a further stimulus to the manufacture, and afforded facilities for welding large blocks of malleable iron into the thousand and one forms they take in modern machinery. By its means stern-posts and cut-waters of huge ships, paddle-wheels, screw-shafts, and enormous forgings for cannon can be wrought as readily as a horse-shoe by a village blacksmith.

In 1856 the Bessemer process of making steel was patented. This invention consisted in adding to purified pig-iron, melted in crucibles, certain known amounts of carbon under different conditions, and thus producing steel of any desired temper with the utmost certainty. By the use of this process tough, homogenous cast-steel is produced at a sufficiently low price to admit of its economical use for all constructive purposes, such as rails, tyres, cranks, plates, bars, rods, etc.

Subsequently followed the Siemens regenerative furnace and gas producer, in which advantage was taken of every chemical and mechanical combination that could possibly add to the heating value of the fuel used. Machinery was invented to minimise the arduous and exhausting labour of the puddler, and another method of producing cast-steel under great pressure, by the process of cementation, came into use.

The working of coal as an article of commerce appears to have commenced about the end of the twelfth century. The invention of Newcomen's engine, in 1705, greatly

stimulated mining, though in 1770 the production of coal was comparatively insignificant, and Durham and Northumberland yielded one-fourth of the whole produce in the kingdom, which amounted to 6,205,000 tons.

The collieries of Great Britain are now upon a most extensive scale, and are of the first importance to the nation, both as regards our political and commercial interests. Were it not for our coal, the manufactures of England could not compete with those of other nations, where labour is cheaper.

It has been estimated that nearly one-tenth of the entire area of Great Britain is made up of coal measures, covering an area of about 11,859 square miles. Speaking of the Black Country, Mr. Jukes says: "In South Staffordshire twelve or thirteen beds of coal rest one upon another, with but very light partings of shale between them; and I believe the quantity of ironstone to be found in this district within a vertical space of 100 or 150 yards is greater than is known anywhere else." In 1891, 185½ million tons of iron-ore, valued at £3,355,860, were raised. In 1891, 648,450 persons were engaged in the coal-mines of Great Britain.

By means of the iron and coal our vast hardware industries have sprung into being—the manufacture of machinery, cutlery, tools, pens, screws, swords, guns, buttons, clocks, watches, locks, hinges, nails, needles, fish-hooks, bedsteads, etc., and the great shipbuilding industries of the Thames, Tyne, Wear, Clyde, and Mersey.

*Earthenware.*—About the close of the Seven Years' War, earthenware manufacture began to attract attention. Up to this time, though Britain possessed abundance of clay

for the manufacture of every kind of earthenware, she had depended on France, Germany, and Italy for the bulk of her pottery.

By successive improvements, such as the use of salt as a substitute for lead-ore, the reproduction of Japanese red ware and the substitution of stone for iron, considerable advance was made, but it was not until the era of Josiah Wedgwood dawned, that the industry became noteworthy. "Up to that time," says his biographer, "there had been nothing worthy of the name of decorative art; of colour, proportion, or form."

With Wedgwood, England entered upon a new career in this industry, and before twenty years had passed, 20,000 potters were employed in Staffordshire alone. The genius of Flaxman gave grace, delicacy, and beauty to the productions, which speedily eclipsed those of Holland and France. A glance at the densely populated pottery district of to-day affords some idea of the modern extent of this industry.

Space will not permit of more than a mere mention of the food industries, the timber and building trades, the lace, glass, and chemical manufactures, which, though subsidiary to those already dealt with, are of immense importance.

The annual value of our exports of British produce in 1892 was £227,060,224, and the total imports represented £423,892,178.

*Changes brought about by the Use of Machinery.*—The enormous changes brought about by the use of machinery are well illustrated by the following extracts from a paper

read before the American Social Science Association in 1875 :—

"At the commencement of the present century very little labour-saving machinery was in use. Then the farmer's best plough was of wood, iron shod, drawn by from one to four or more yoke of oxen; one man to drive the team, another to hold the plough, and often another to keep it clear. Result—say about one and a half acres ploughed per day by, say, two men. Now are used ploughs in gangs of two or three, or more, of polished steel, drawn by horses, controlled by one man who rides at ease. Result—five or more acres per day, ploughed by a single man, and much better than by our fathers. Or steam is used, with still greater results, ploughing an acre or more an hour.

"Our fathers sowed their seed by hand, taken from a bag slung from their shoulders. Now a machine, controlled by any boy who can drive a single horse, will do more than three times the work in a given time, and far better. Similar changes have been made in all the preliminary processes of agriculture.

"When the grain was ripe for the harvest, our fathers would go into the field with their sickles in their hands, and a long day of hard work would result in one-fourth of an acre of grain per man. Now a man will take a reaping-machine, drawn by one or two pairs of horses, and reap his twenty or more acres per day; one man now doing the work of eighty, but about fifty years ago. . . . .

"Our fathers bound the wheat in sheaves after it was cut, and stored it in their barns for winter's work for themselves, their boys, and their men-servants in thrashing it with flails. Now machines are sent into the field, which gather it up in great heaps, from which it is taken by other machines, and in a few hours, or a few days at most, it is thrashed, winnowed, sacked, and ready for market. . . . .

"We will note the work of some half-dozen of the machines now in general use in building and carpentry. The circular-saw, controlled by one man, will saw more in one hour than can be done in ten hours with a hand-saw; with the moulding-machine one man can work out more mouldings than ten men by hand; in planing, the planing-machine, controlled by one man, will do the work of fifteen or twenty men with hand-planes; in cutting mortises and making tenons, one man with a machine will do the work of ten men by the old method; with a jig-saw, he will do the work of eight men with the old tools; and, with the hand-saw, will do the work of twelve men by the old methods."

*Changes brought about by the Use of Steam.* — The mechanical improvements detailed above could have made but little progress had it not been for the greatest of all inventions, the discovery of steam as a motive power. Man's physical force is insignificant, the muscular energy of animals is limited and uncertain, water-power and wind-power cannot be rendered of service everywhere and under every circumstance, but steam is the most potent and the most pliable of all known motors. The history of the efforts which culminated in the discovery by which Watt in 1765 transformed the steam-engine "from a mere toy into the most wonderful instrument which human industry has ever had at its command" must be sought elsewhere. "To recount the achievements of the steam-engine," says Arago, "is to go over the greater part of what adorns and interests civilisation and science." It unlocks the secret mine, it moves mountains, it fashions a screw-shaft and makes a pin, it spins, it weaves, it ploughs, it threshes and grinds corn, it sets a hundred machines going under one roof, it whirls us along faster than the fleetest race-horse, it drives the ship through contrary winds and waves, it draws the most brilliant illumination from the dynamo, and its touch, at the will of the mechanician, is more delicate than the lightest lady's finger, or more overwhelming than the grip of giants.

To the introduction of steam, together with our cheap fuel and our unrivalled stores of mineral wealth, we owe the industrial system of to-day, which reduces physical exertion to a minimum, and subdivides labour a thousand-fold, thereby increasing skill, saving time, and enormously reducing the cost of production.

## CHAPTER V.

### ASSOCIATIONS OF WORKERS.

It will be instructive to notice some of these early voluntary alliances of men, within the State, especially such as arose in our own country.

The earliest distinct form of association was that of the *Frith-guilds*:- these were brotherhoods—partly social, partly religious, partly protective—which became general during the ninth and tenth centuries.

But the form of guild which exercised the greatest influence was the *Merchant-guild*, to which all the traders of a town were, as a rule, obliged to belong. Although the merchant-guild consisted chiefly of merchants, craftsmen, as such, were not excluded, provided they possessed the full citizenship of the town, which consisted in the possession of land within the township.

With the increase of wealth and population there came division of labour, the richer carried on trade, the poorer became merely craftsmen, and by and bye those only were permitted to remain in the guilds who possessed considerable estates or carried on a wholesale trade.

The business of this guild was that of framing and enforcing a sort of market law, seeing to the weights and measures in use, securing and certifying, by trade marks, the quality of goods exported from the towns, and adjusting trade disputes of any kind. It held an Assize of Bread, that is, it arranged the *weight* of the loaf, according to a regular sliding scale. It took into account the price of corn, allowed the baker so much for wood, for salt, and for his trouble in baking, and then fixed the size of the loaf. There was also an Assize of Beer, and brewers were continually fined for breaking its regulations.

In the course of time, however, these ruling guilds were forced to give way to guilds of craftsmen. Certain guilds, formed by members of the same craft, gradually came, in the fourteenth century, to be publicly recognised bodies for the regulation of their particular trades.

Suppose complaints were made to the authorities of a town that many persons were deceived into buying pots purporting to be brass, but made of some inferior and easily melted metal, and that thereby the trade was being brought into disrepute. To protect the public from deceit and honest craftsmen from slander, the Mayor and Aldermen might appoint a certain number of founders to enquire into the right proportions of copper and lead to be used in making pots in the future. Thus the town authorities would come to recognise a particular guild as the proper authority for the regulation of that craft, and pressure would be put upon all persons working at that trade within the town, to submit to its control.

In time it became the duty of the wardens in each guild

to see that the work of the members was really well done, and the townsfolk would consider it to their interest to have the productions of the craftsmen submitted to such superintendence. In this way, each craft-guild came to have an exclusive right of producing a particular set of wares within the town, and the guild officials came to have complete authority over the workers in their particular trades.

The principle of the system was that each guild brother should work not only for his private profit, but for the reputation and good of the trade. With this end in view, the craft-guilds allowed a member only to work at one trade, condemned night work, and limited the number of apprentices each master might have. Further, the influence of the guilds extended to the good behaviour of the members in all the relations of life. The wardens could not only search through all the workshops devoted to the trade in the town, in order to see that the materials and work were good, but they could exercise an oversight over the respectability of the members of their trade.

Gradually, too, they did something for the good of their members by instituting benefit clubs, social gatherings, etc. The tailors of Lincoln provided "that if anyone falls into poverty he shall have every week during his life seven pence [10s. in modern money] out of the goods of the Guild." But during the fourteenth century a change was taking place in the larger crafts.

At first the higher craftsman was artisan, employer, and shopman rolled into one. As trade extended, some would become chiefly dealers and some chiefly artisans. The dealer would be in a better position to procure materials for

the workers, and also to dispose of their wares, and so would tend to become of greater importance and wealth than the working craftsman. Many of the workers lived in the houses of such masters as journeymen, and the masters were responsible to the town authorities for their good behaviour. Those workers who prepared the materials for other craftsmen, occupied an inferior position in the social scale.

During the fourteenth century, these different classes of craftsmen appear to have worked fairly well together. The universal dearth of labour after the Black Death of 1348 enabled workers to obtain more favourable terms from their masters, though attempts were made by legislation to make the old wages compulsory, under pain of punishment.

At the end of the fourteenth, and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries, we find guilds of journeymen being used for the purpose of combining to insist on terms more advantageous to themselves. From this time onwards we find interference on the part of town authorities, and subsequently legislation in the interests of the journeymen, "little masters," and members of subordinate crafts.

The management of the London craft-guilds came to be in the hands of the richest of the dealing members, and thus tended to become mere societies of moneyed men or great trading corporations. Gradually they became monopolists; they attempted to increase profits by shutting out competition, and tried to enforce burdensome and injurious restrictions on the workers. Guilds, formerly comprising all kindred trades, became splintered up into little jealous societies, at continual warfare with one another, and so,

slowly but surely, their influence and power dwindled away.

Several reasons may be given for their decay. First, they tried to restrict trade to different localities, a serious evil, giving rise to much local jealousy and ill-feeling. For instance, when London merchants began purchasing Yarmouth herrings for the London market, the price to the Yarmouth people rose considerably, and they reaped little advantage from living near the sea. Yarmouth did not see why London should be supplied with herrings, and so jealousy sprang up between the two towns. The same sort of difficulties occurred with other articles in other places. The middlemen or "grocers," as they were then called, men who enabled people in one place to obtain the products of another, came in for much abuse. No doubt they made exorbitant profits, though they rendered great service to the country at large.

Again, though local authorities might superintend the trade of one town, it was impossible to guarantee the work or material used in the workshops all over the country, and so the interests of one locality conflicted with those of another, and the interest of the country at large was often altogether ignored.

The field of work of each trade was narrow and confined, so that it became a matter of dispute as to within the province of which trade a particular manufacture fell. Thus shoemakers and makers of gaiters quarrelled as to which trade should make saddles. It was also difficult to say at what point an article in the course of manufacture should pass from one set of craftsmen to another.

With the growing division of labour came greater and greater difficulties, which led to much quarrelling and rendered the operations of the guilds quite ineffective.

The third difficulty lay in the relationship between the different classes of workers which arose in the same society. When the separation of men into employers and workmen came, there were riots and struggles, and the house divided against itself could not stand.

The seventy-four Livery Companies of the City of London still keep up the feasting, processions, and regalia of the old guilds. They have a total income of about £750,000 per annum, derived from the monopolies, gifts, and legacies of a bygone age. A portion of this income is now expended in the maintenance of schools, technical instruction, charities, etc.

## CHAPTER VI.

### TRADE UNIONS.

*Their Origin and Growth.*—The existing associations of workmen known as Trade Unions grew up as successors to the old guilds described in the last chapter. Trade unions were formed "for the purpose of resisting the aggressions of the rising manufacturers and to prevent the spread of the gross abuses which naturally resulted from the disintegration of labour, caused by a new system, under new conditions and governed by a new class."

We shall briefly consider the condition of workmen in certain handicrafts during the period of transition from the system of domestic manufacture to that of the modern factory system, and shall endeavour to point out how trade unions arose.

We shall deal (1) with a typical trade, subject to the Statute of Apprentices; (2) with a typical incorporated trade; and (3) with trades legally free from restrictions.

(1.) In the woollen manufacture, the old staple trade of England, the assessment of wages by the justices, brought into operation by the Statute of Apprentices made in Elizabeth's reign, seems to have fallen into disuse by 1720, and the desire for a fixed rate of wage led to temporary com-

binations of workers, which were prohibited by law in 1725, when arrangements were made for the justices to once more fix a rate of wage. Their refusal to act, together with the enforcement of the law against combining, brought about great strikes of weavers in 1756, accompanied by riots and much machine breaking.

But these early combinations were only of a temporary character, and did not become permanent trade societies until the factory system began to displace the domestic plan, and masters endeavoured to get a repeal of the Statute of Apprentices.

This statute codified the orders and regulations of the craft-guilds, forbidding men to learn more than one trade at a time, or to exercise any handicraft, either as master or journeyman, unless they had been apprenticed for seven years. It further restricted the number of apprentices that could be employed, and made conditions for the hiring of workmen.

In the last century, the woollen manufacture was carried on by "little masters" in their own homes. In 1806 it is estimated that there were in and around Leeds 3,500 manufacturers, all of whom had served a seven years' apprenticeship, and who employed apprentices and journeyman, in addition to their own wives and children, in passing the wool through the various stages until it became dressed cloth. Sometimes journeymen did the work in their own homes, assisted by their wives.

The introduction of machinery and the consequent division of labour wrought a complete change. Mills were erected on streams and rivers, and a class of "rich master

clothiers" came into existence—men who became wholesale manufacturers and employed operatives to work up their materials under the supervision of overseers.

Apprentices were no longer bound by indenture, though they mostly served for seven years, women and children were employed at low wages to do what skilled workmen had formerly done, and numbers of employers who had served no apprenticeship to the trade, established mills.

Discontent was rife, and in 1796, for the purpose of preventing people from carrying on trade in violation of law and custom, a trade society called the "Institution" arose among the cloth-workers of Halifax. Another object of this society was the assistance of sick members. Though suppressed, along with all such associations, in 1800, the Institution was nevertheless carried on under the guise of a Friendly Society, and many of the benefit features of the old guilds were revived, provision for the sick and the widow being made by means of levies.

Much money was spent by an institution established about 1803 in petitioning Parliament to maintain 5 Eliz., c. 4 (the Statute of Apprentices), but these laws were gradually suspended in favour of the manufacturers and ultimately repealed for this trade in 1810. While the Institution was pressing for the maintenance of the old laws, masters were entering into combinations to suppress the Institution, and contests as a consequence between masters and men were frequent.

Despite the Act of George I. suppressing combinations among workmen, they were so firmly founded in 1806 that it was said "that the attachment of the members to their

trade society was so great that if they were prohibited, they would rather follow it than the laws of the land."

(2.) The trade of framework-knitting was incorporated and came under the Statute of Apprentices about 1663. As early as the beginning of the eighteenth century, the employment of an unlimited number of apprentices became common, one case being recorded in which twenty-five apprentices were engaged to every journeyman. These apprentices were often taken from the workhouses, the parish officials frequently paying a bounty for every one so apprenticed. At the expiration of their apprenticeship, they found themselves superseded by fresh apprentices; employment became insufficient, and starvation stared them in the face.

In 1710 adult workers combined and besought the Chartered Company, the employers, to carry out the Statute, but this was refused. Strikes, riots, and machine destruction were frequent, and in 1727 the crime of breaking the knitting frames was punishable with death. From 1750 to 1780 there was an enormous increase of framework-knitting, but the influx of boys, girls, and non-apprenticed workmen prevented the journeymen from benefiting by it, and the breakdown of the Chartered Company left them entirely in the hands of their employers.

A Parliamentary Committee in 1779, on the petition of combinations of workers, made enquiry into their condition, and found that the average workman's wage was from 6s. to 8s. per week, out of which 1s. 3d. to 2s. per week was demanded for the rent of the frames used, together with other exactions for winding, seaming, needles, candles, etc. They found that the workmen were in a state of starvation.

A Bill was introduced in 1779 to ameliorate their condition—"a measure moistened and saturated with the tears of the poor distressed families of the framework-knitters." Its rejection gave rise to the greatest excitement among the operatives. They crowded into Nottingham, broke more than thirty frames and threw them out of windows, burned down a house, and destroyed much property. Public opinion seems to have been on the side of the workmen, and the masters promised, if the rioting would cease, to remove all grievances. But they failed to keep their word, and formed a union of their own. Grievances increased, and the whole district was in a state of constant tumult.

In 1812 an unsuccessful attempt was again made by the workmen to obtain the intervention of Parliament, and a union was formed of all branches of the trade. Efforts were made, by means of strikes, to fix a statement list of prices, but Parliament did nothing, though the combinations were continued.

(3.) The calico-printing trade, though not subject to legal restrictions, was controlled by general customs and the sanction of the trade, following those in vogue in the trades already mentioned.

In 1790, on the introduction of machinery, an unlimited number of apprentices came to be employed, and, as there were no legal restrictions, the disproportion between journeymen and apprentices was greater than in any other trade. Work was scarce for journeymen, for masters saved one-third in wages by employing apprentices, and it often happened "that apprentices were discharged immediately upon the expiration of their apprenticeship, although the work was

unfinished, the master being unwilling to pay them journeyman's wages, even until such work was finished."

This precarious condition of the journeymen, aggravated by the fact that the nature of their occupation made them unfit for other employment, brought into existence a Calico Printers' Trade Society, to assist the sick and those out of work by means of voluntary levies.

When the Act of 1800 prohibited such societies and their accumulation of funds, each member was provided with a ticket, which entitled him on its presentation to receive a sum of money from the workers in any workshop he passed. This voluntary system afterwards was superseded by a weekly contribution. One of their rules was that a journeyman seeking employment had first to apply to the workmen in the shop he sought to enter, to ascertain if discontent existed or if work was plentiful. By this means, the society tried to prevent employers from reducing wages, by accepting the offer of those out of work whom necessity might induce to accept lower remuneration.

These combinations continued until 1802, when the journeymen petitioned Parliament. As soon as they found consideration given to their grievances they ceased to combine. A Bill was introduced to lessen the number of apprentices in 1802, but was rejected by the opposition of the masters, and the Calico Printers' Union was thereupon revived.

In the silk trades, the custom of assessment of wages by the Justices of the Peace fell into disuse before 1773. As wages fell disputes arose, accompanied by strikes and violence.

A society was formed, but the "Spitalfields Acts," which called upon the justices to again fix the rate of wages,

and further controlled the trade, put an end to strikes, and created a satisfactory state of things for a time. A general price list was fixed, and the expenses attending its publication were defrayed by the workmen, a "committee of ways and means" being elected in 1805 to see that all contributed fairly and equally.

Attempts to violate these lists, on the part of the masters, led to the formation of a society known as the "Good Intent." Combinations of masters for mutual protection and assistance were also formed, and litigation and strife became frequent and bitter.

In 1813 a Parliamentary Committee sat to enquire into the whole industrial question. Petitions were presented for and against the repeal of the Statute of Apprentices, and notwithstanding the opposition of the workmen, the year 1814 saw the repeal of that Statute for all trades.

After the repeal, organisations of workmen increased and multiplied more and more. When combinations became frequent and their action aggressive, steps were taken to suppress them.

During the latter part of the last century Statutes known as the "Combination Laws" were passed, prohibiting all agreements or associations of workmen for the purpose of advancing wages or controlling their masters in the management and regulation of their business, and empowering magistrates to convict summarily and punish with imprisonment for two or three months, any workman who should take part in them.

Open combinations, as a result, became few, but secret societies, outwardly known as friendly societies, were

common. In 1800 the Legislature awoke to the fact that strikes were frequent in almost all trades, and that associations were active all over the country. A Statute was therefore passed to prevent combinations of workmen altogether.

By this Statute, all agreements between journeymen and workmen for obtaining advances of wages for themselves or others, or for lessening the hours of work, or hindering any person from employing whomsoever he thought fit, or for controlling in any way a manufacturer in the conduct and management of his business were declared illegal, and a Justice of the Peace was empowered to inflict two months' imprisonment on all who entered into such agreements. The same punishment was to be inflicted on a workman who should endeavour to entice away any workman from his work, or prevent an unhired workman from hiring himself by offer of money, by persuasion, or by threat. It was also to be penal for a hired workman to refuse to work with other workmen without a just cause. Funds collected to support workmen during strikes were not to be legally protected.

These laws, though stringently enforced, did not prevent combination. On the contrary, they encouraged secret societies, which sometimes committed outrages of the grossest kind.

As an illustration of how these laws were carried out, it may be mentioned that in 1805 a linen-weaver was sent to jail for three months simply for carrying a letter to York to request assistance from other workmen. The carpenters endeavoured to prosecute their masters for combining, but, though the case appears to have been proved, they failed to obtain a conviction. Several societies were suppressed, and

men all over the country were subjected to fine and imprisonment for membership of them.

But the fire of persecution only lent them new vigour, and despite the secrecy of their meetings, the insecurity of their funds, the necessity for the concealment of their books and for administering oaths to their members, they everywhere gained ground.

In 1824 Mr. Joseph Hume, M.P., moved for a Committee to enquire into the state of these laws. He laid down the principle that every law which shackled any man in the free disposition of his labour, provided such free disposition did not interfere with any vital interest, should be repealed.

The Committee reported that, despite the laws, combinations of workmen to raise and keep up wages, to regulate hours of working, and to impose restrictions on masters respecting apprentices and other *employés*, did actually exist; that serious breaches of the peace and acts of violence, with strikes of the workmen, attended by loss to masters and men and inconvenience to the community, had arisen out of these combinations; that masters had often combined to lower wages as well as resist increases, and to regulate hours of working, and sometimes to discharge workmen who would not consent to their conditions; that though prosecutions against workmen had been frequently carried on, and men had suffered imprisonment for combining, there was no evidence that any master had been punished for the same offence; that the combination laws had not only been inefficient, but had tended to produce mutual irritation and distrust, and to give a violent character to the trade associations.

The Committee were of opinion that masters and workmen should be freed from restrictions regarding the rate of wages and hours of working, and left at perfect liberty to make such agreements as they mutually thought proper, and that the common law, under which a peaceable meeting of masters or workmen might be prosecuted as a conspiracy, should be altered.

The Committee further found the societies legally enrolled as Benefit Societies had been made the cloak under which funds for the support of combinations and strikes, attended with violence and intimidation, had been raised; that the practice of settling disputes by arbitration had been attended with good effect, and that the laws directing and regulating such arbitration should be made applicable to all trades.

The Committee concluded by recommending that in the repeal of the Combination Laws it was necessary to provide for the punishment of either workmen or masters, who, by threat, intimidation, or acts of violence, should interfere with the perfect freedom everyone ought to enjoy of employing his labour and capital as he thought proper.

The report was speedily followed by the Act of 1825, amended by that of 1826, which repealed the Combination Laws, but enacted that any person who, by violence to the person or property of another, should force or endeavour to force any other person to depart from his employment or return his work before it was finished, or prevent any person from hiring himself or from accepting work, should be liable to imprisonment, and that any person using violence for the purpose of inducing any person to belong to any club or association, or contribute to any common fund, or

to pay fines or penalties for not having complied with any rules of such trade societies, should be liable to imprisonment. And, lastly, that any person who, by violence or molestation, should force any person to make alterations in his mode of carrying on his trade should be punished.

Thus the right of freedom of labour and trade was won, though all the difficulties attending combinations and strikes were not thereby removed. Workmen could now openly, and without dread, associate for certain specific purposes, though very many acts performed by members of trade unions were still criminal acts of conspiracy. In the case of the transportation of six Dorchester labourers for administering unlawful oaths, arising out of a combination, their seven years' sentence aroused intense excitement among the working-classes, which gave a great stimulus to the formation and cohesion of unions. These gained in strength, and their influence was felt in almost every trade.

Strikes at frequent intervals, notably one of some obstinacy at Glasgow in 1836, which cost the Cotton Spinners' Union £3,000, followed by another in 1837, lasting sixteen weeks and costing from £24,000 to £30,000, caused much uneasiness, and a further Parliamentary Enquiry was held, but the Committee made no report.

The evidence went to show that the trade unionists were the most skilled operatives in their several trades, that there was not much violence used amongst the cotton spinners to prevent men working, though there was a complete system of intimidation and oppression by the unions of the Dublin Canal trade, that the prohibitions against working with non-unionists and against piece-work, the attempts to establish a uniform

wage, and the restrictions upon the number of apprentices employed, were the union rules most inconvenient to masters and most provocative of strikes; and that the effect of combination upon wages was variously represented by the masters, some declaring that wages were raised to a ruinous height by it, others considering that it had no effect.

From 1834 to 1842 the unions continued to gather strength, and with the strikes of the latter year and of 1845 came fresh prosecutions.

A society called the National Association of United Trades came into existence in 1845, and became the centre of a great movement for repealing the law as it then stood, and for finding employment for those thrown out of work by labour disputes. Prosecutions still went on, but the unions fought the cases and bore the brunt of many heavy law costs, their numerical strength and power being constantly on the increase.

Agitations for the amendment of the law became gradually organised, and the desires of the workmen took the shape of a demand for the modification of the laws relating to master and servant, the repeal of the fragments of the old combination laws still lingering on the Statute Book, and for the abolition of prosecutions for conspiracy arising out of labour disputes.

After the terrible outrages committed at Sheffield and Manchester—dastardly crimes, accompanied by "rattening," *i.e.*, "the abstraction of a workman's tools, so as to prevent him from earning his livelihood until he has obeyed the arbitrary orders of the union"—public feeling was exceedingly

bitter against trade unions, and a Royal Commission was appointed in 1866, to not only enquire into the outrages, but into the organisation, rules, operations, and conduct of trade unions. Searching as was the investigation, and severe as was the ordeal, the charges against the unions were, generally speaking, not made out, and in place of the Act of suppression, expected by many, came the Trade Union Act of 1871, which made these societies legal. Further agitations were carried on persistently by constitutional methods, and in 1875 came the total repeal of all the penal laws affecting labour.

There are certain valuable lessons easy to be gathered from this brief history of the struggles of workmen to obtain the rights they now enjoy. It is plain that undue repressive laws are dangerous and ineffectual, that they warp men's ideas of right and wrong, and fill them with a sense of injustice that may easily lead to violence and crime. "Men who know that they are criminals by the mere reason of the object which they have in view, care little for the additional criminality involved in the means they adopt."

To workmen it should be plain also, that moderation in their demands, a sense of duty to the State, a persistent and combined appeal to righteousness and common-sense are far more efficacious in the long-run in bringing about redress than intemperate reprisals and an appeal to brute force. There is no excuse, with the vote the workingman possesses, for any appeal to the forces of disorder. There are constitutional ways and means of reform, and no demand, based on justice and common equity, can now be long disregarded.

## CHAPTER VII.

### TRADE UNIONS, THEIR OBJECTS AND AIMS.

TRADE unions are "voluntary associations of workmen, in the same or allied trades, for mutual protection and assistance in securing generally the most favourable conditions of labour." An important union has branches all over the country, and a large union is often an amalgamation of several smaller associations. We saw, in the last chapter, how long and bitter was the struggle of working-men to secure this right of combination. Now, "nothing is illegal if done by a workman, which would not be illegal if done by anyone else; nothing is illegal when done by a combination of workmen, which would not be illegal when done by a combination of other people; and the law no longer refuses to protect the property of the unions."

Trade unions endeavour to enable their members to do by means of combination that which, individually, or split up into small groups, they would be unable to do. For this purpose, they levy weekly contributions, varying from 1s. per week in some of the wealthier unions to twopence per week in some of the poorer ones. These funds are, in many instances, applied mainly to the support of those

members who cannot obtain employment, except on terms contrary to the rules of their union, or through slackness of work; to secure for them the advantages offered by an ordinary friendly society, such as pay and assistance during sickness, grants at the death of a member or his wife, compensation for disablement, superannuation allowances, or grants to enable workmen to move from one place to another, or to replace tools, in case of loss. Many trade societies, however, exist for trade purposes only—that is, for striving to raise wages and prevent their reduction, for diminishing hours of labour, and for preventing their extension; in fact, for regulating all matters connected with the employment or discharge and mode of working of their members. The burial funds are nearly general, and there is a tendency among modern trade unions to provide both trade and friendly benefits for their members.

The annexed table, taken from Mr. George Howell's "Conflicts of Capital and Labour," gives examples of the weekly contributions and the benefits open to members of some important trade unions in the country.

All these benefits, except the last on the list have been generally approved by even hostile critics of trade unions. There are certain distinct advantages in having such benefit societies in connection with industrial trades: there is little need for advertising and agency expenses, while the mutual knowledge and watchfulness of members prevent fraud. The "out-of-work fund" existing in the better organised trade unions, entitles a member out of work, from depression in trade or from unavoidable loss of employment, to receive a certain specified sum per week during his enforced idle-

| Name of Society. | Weekly Contribution. | Weekly Sick Benefit. | Sums payable at Death. | | Compensation for Disablement. | Weekly Superannuation. | Weekly Out-of-work Benefit. | Emigration or Loss of Tools. | Weekly Strike Benefit |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Members. | Member's Wife. | | | | | |
| Engineers ... | 1s. | 10s. for 26 weeks, after which 5s. | £12 | £5 | £50 to £100 | 10s. to 7s. per week. | 10s. for 14 weeks, 7s. for 26 weeks, 6s. after. | £10 | 10s. and 5s. by levy. |
| Stonemasons | 6½d. to 1s. 0½d. | 10s. for 13 weeks, 5s. for 13 weeks. | £10, or accidental death, £50 | £6 | £100 | 5s. to 4s. per week. | Travelling relief, 9s. (while seeking work). | Lower contributions. | 12s. per week to 21s. |
| Tailors ... | 7d. | 10s. to 7s. | £6 | £4 | Nil. | 5s. to 2s. 6d. per week. | Travelling relief, 9s. 4d. | Nil. | 15s. |
| Typographical Association | 5d. | Nil. | £10 | Nil. | Nil. | 8s. to 6s. per week. | 8s. | Nil. | 20s. |

ness. Work is very precarious in many trades, and so this particular benefit tends to equalise wages, and at the same time enables members to make a stand against the necessity of accepting inadequate or disadvantageous terms. Discharge for drunkenness or misconduct does not entitle a member to receive such a weekly donation, and the watchfulness of other members operates against fraud.

To the nation at large, the benefit of being relieved from the expense of providing such "out-of-works" with parish relief is obvious. In the thirty-nine years from 1851 to 1889 the Amalgamated Society of Engineers alone, paid no less than £3,074,653 in general provident benefits, of which £1,492,264 was expended in "out-of-work" donations. Measured by their expenditure, this is the most important branch of trade union operations.

But that which distinguishes a trade society from other working-class associations is the provision of "Strike Pay." Strike pay is only allowed when members are "called out" by order of the society, or when they leave off work because certain conditions under which they have engaged to work are violated. In the latter case, the executive committee of the union has to be satisfied that the strike is reasonable, justifiable, and within the society's rules. Generally speaking, however, notice of the dispute must be given beforehand to the chief officials of the union, when an attempt is made to settle it without resort to the extreme measure. Very often, before a strike takes place, the executive committee, having carefully considered the matter in all its phases, appeals to the entire body of members all over the country; the members, unswayed by canvassing, intimidation, or undue influence,

are called upon to vote for or against the strike, and the majority of the votes determines the action of the union. The rules of the miners' unions in Durham and Northumberland provide that there shall be a two-thirds majority on the part of the members voting, before a strike can be entered upon or continued. There is thus a check upon hasty action, and if the majority of members refuse their sanction, the strike is abandoned or deferred. If local branches strike independently, after being refused the sanction of the general body, they must defray their expenses by a local levy. The better organised, wealthier, and old established unions, with branches all over the country, are not nearly so prone to "strike" as the newly-formed and badly constituted unions. The total amount expended in "strike pay" is not a very considerable item, less than one-tenth of the total average yearly expenditure in many unions, though, of course, it varies much from year to year. The Engineers during thirty-five years, from 1850 to 1885, paid less than a quarter of a million pounds for this purpose. The principal objects of such societies, then, are twofold:—

1. To provide mutual assurance for members against the ills humanity, and especially working-class humanity, is heir to; and
2. To procure for their members higher wages, shorter hours of labour, and the enforcement of certain restrictions, only possible of accomplishment by means of combination.

Let us look at the second class of objects more closely.

*Unions and the Rate of Wages.*—It is not our purpose to enquire into the wide economic aspects of this

question. Comparing the wages of unionists of the present day with those earned by artisans before the era of trade unions, or with those trades in which there are no unions, there is reason for believing that these bodies have been successful in raising wages. The workman standing alone, is powerless, and his necessities often compel him to accept terms inadequate and even unjust. The employer can afford to wait; but the workman must starve when his slender resources are exhausted. The unionists, collectively, have the means of waiting: they can withhold their labour till the conditions are satisfactory to them, and so they are placed more upon an equality with their masters in bargaining. Standing alone, individuals compete with one another for employment, and wages, as a consequence, tend to fall. In 1851 the wages of the engineers ranged from 18s. to 34s. per week, in 1887 they received 28s. to 40s. per week, and the wages of the carpenters rose from a maximum of 33s. per week in 1860 to a maximum of 42s. 6d. in 1889. But it must be remembered that other and powerful causes have been in operation tending to an increase of earnings amongst all classes of workers, whether combined in unions or not. It is generally conceded, however, that unions can do much in keeping up the normal wage—in accelerating a rise or in delaying a fall. It is said "that there is scarcely a trade in the country having a union, in which wages have not had an upward tendency, and there is hardly a single trade having no union, in which wages have not had a downward tendency, or been absolutely stationary, for years." Trade unions endeavour to fix a minimum rate of wages, in each district, for a day's

work of a given length—a rate below which their ordinary members may not undertake work. This minimum wage tends to become the ordinary wage of the district. It is thought, by some, that this rule keeps down the wages of the more efficient workmen. But if a man is engaged at the minimum wage, it is because his employer considers him worth that amount. The superior workman is not made less efficient by this fact, and is worth just as much more to his employer, as he would be if the less competent workman were not engaged. In the long run, the competition of employers for the competent man's services will tend to give him a rate of wages commensurate with his superiority to the worker worth the minimum wage. Even supposing that there were a levelling down of wages, it is voluntarily risked by all workers in the interest of their class. The trade unionists are, as a rule, "the aristocracy of the workmen"; and a would-be unionist must demonstrate his ability to earn the local minimum rate of wages before he is admitted to the union. The trade unions contend that they save the employer anxiety and trouble by fixing the minimum wage, for the price of labour tends to become a fixed quantity, which renders calculations simple and accurate, and assures the manufacturer that no neighbouring competitor is buying it at a lower price, so as to undersell him.

*Unions and Hours of Labour.*—"Excessive toil, whether from long hours or from overwork, while engaged in it, is disastrous, morally and socially, as well as mentally and physically, and at the same time, by its exhaustive process, it really diminishes the productive power of the worker."

Trade unions, acting on this belief, have made, and are

making, efforts to reduce the number of working hours in the different trades. The limit of eight hours a day, or forty-eight per week, seems to be aimed at by the general body of workmen, and appeals have been made to Parliament to fix this limit by statute. But British workmen, by their own combinations, have, during the last twenty years, done much to substantially shorten their hours of work, and many of them are opposed to the interference of the State at all. In a large number of trades, the average is fifty-four hours per week; in many trades it ranges from 53 to 48½ hours per week, and in the coalfields of Durham and Northumberland the coal hewers work less than eight hours per day. Some political economists declare that in many trades a diminution of the hours of labour would lessen production, and therefore diminish the fund out of which wages must come. A considerable number of employers who have tried the experiment report, on the other hand, that this is not so, and the Government has now adopted the eight hours' day for the workmen employed by the War Office. But, even supposing the economists are right, it is possible for the advantages flowing from increased leisure to more than counterbalance a loss of money wages. Wealth is only one element of well-being, and leisure brings opportunities for raising the standard of life. If the increased leisure is used to make life happier and better, if workmen are thus enabled to render their lives nobler and more refined, their efficiency, energy, intelligence, and force of character will be increased, and it is not unlikely that they may be able to do as much work in the shorter hours as they formerly did in the protracted time. At any rate, "material wealth

exists for the sake of man and not man for the sake of material wealth," and the replacement of inefficient and stunted human lives by more efficient and fuller ones would be a gain of the highest order, against which a slight material loss is of little importance.

*Unions and Restrictions.*—In a number of trade unions there are rules prohibiting or discouraging what is known as piece-work.

Mr. George Howell gives the following reasons urged by trade unionists against this method of remuneration: (1) "Piece-work in many cases has the same effect as task-work"—it tends to produce a kind of high-pressure speed which only the strongest can keep up, and those only for a limited time. "It is the pace that kills," and this forcing tends to deteriorate the workman and militate against his future efficiency. (2) In fixing the price of a certain job on this system, the employer is said to take, for his sample and test, the quickest workman, and to calculate the price he will pay for the piece accordingly. Thus, while the strong man is taxing his strength to earn as much as he can, the weaker workman is overtaxing himself to compete with him, and to earn a decent average wage. (3) Employers are enabled to make wages fluctuate by means of piece-work. (4) Workmen thus working are more or less isolated, and employers are enabled to make terms with individuals, it may be, to their disadvantage. (5) Finally, the great evil of piece-work is said to be the tendency to "scamp" the work, and to produce quantity instead of quality. It is declared that the best work is usually done by the day, and that that attention to small details, which constitutes true workmanship, is only possible when a man can exercise his

time and skill undisturbed by any temptation to hurry and produce a large amount of merely passable work. In those cases in which piece-work is compatible with the nature of the trade, it is said that the unions offer no resistance, but when day-work is more suitable to the requirements of the trade and the conditions of the workers, time wages are aimed at. Many trade unions offer considerable opposition to what is termed "overtime," that is, working beyond the ordinary or fixed day. Overtime may be systematic and general, or partial and occasional, in cases of emergency. Unionists urge the following reasons against the practice of working overtime systematically: (1) It destroys the fixed working day, and causes work to be spasmodic and irregular; (2) work done after hours is never so productive as that done within the fixed day; and (3) the worker is deteriorated, by overtaxing his strength in his greed for overtime, and by being encouraged to take stimulants to give himself a fictitious vigour. Unions offer no objection to occasional and fairly-remunerated overtime, in cases of emergency.

Some trade unions endeavour to limit the number of apprentices who may enter their particular trades. Employers are no longer restricted by law as to the number of apprentices they may employ, nor does the master himself teach his apprentices. The work of teaching falls upon the journeymen, and in some trades, it is usual for the master to pay his workmen an extra sum for instructing apprentices. In other trades, the workman receives no extra remuneration, and feels that he is unjustly called upon to give the benefit of his knowledge and skill, acquired by long service and experience, free, gratis, and for

nothing, to those who may ultimately fill the trade to overflowing, and cause a reduction in his wages. Unions, therefore, have made rules to proportion the number of apprentices to journeymen in the different shops.

The consequences of these restrictions are said to be, the breakdown of the apprenticeship system, and a lowering of the standard of workmanship. But unionists aver that they have uniformly struggled to continue a system ensuring superiority of workmanship and protecting their trades from an influx of boy labour and unskilled workmen. There is, moreover, no doubt that the altered conditions of trade, the introduction of machinery, the consequent division of labour, and the unnecessary length of the seven years period of apprenticeship, have contributed very much to the decline of the old system. It is declared by the ablest exponents of Unionism that the rules and regulations of the unions do *not* materially affect the free influx of apprentices into the trades, that no dearth of workmen is caused by these restrictions, and that those unions which have tried to enforce hard conditions have failed to do so.

*Labour Disputes and Strikes.*—Labour disputes generally arise out of friction between masters and workmen as to either, (1) the rate of wages, whether it be in connection with an advance or a reduction; (2) hours of labour; (3) the limiting of the number of apprentices, or the employment of non-unionist workmen; (4) the regulation of modes of working, such as piece-work, overtime, etc. When peaceful attempts to settle disputed questions fail, "strikes" constitute the workmen's engine of industrial warfare. Apart from conciliation and arbitration, there are many matters which a shrewd and far-seeing union

considers before "an insurrection of labour" is decided upon. It carefully weighs its resources, it assures itself of the unanimity of its members, it looks to the state of trade with regard to its particular industry, it calculates the proportion of union and non-union men, and, often, the better organised a union is the less is the chance that a local dispute will become a strike of the trade.

Warfare is always expensive, and industrial warfare is no exception to the rule. In the great lock-out on the Clyde it was estimated that the Union spent £150,000 in "strike pay," and that £312,000 were lost in wages. The Manchester strike was said to have cost the unions £80,000 and the employers £300,000, and the expense of the recent great coal dispute can scarcely be estimated. Figures, however, can give no idea of the domestic sufferings of individuals from privation and hunger; they cannot realise the amount of irrevocably lost time, the breaking up of homes, and the severance of old associations. The fact that they are borne with fortitude, almost cheerfulness, shows that the workers expect to reap some tangible and permanent reward as the price of their endurance. It is scarcely to be believed that men would make such enormous personal sacrifices unless they felt that they would be ultimately recompensed for their sufferings and material loss. It is often asked "whether the ends of strikes justify the means, and whether the gains are equivalent to the expenditure?" The answer of the unionists is that the general results of strikes have been beneficial to the mass of workmen, that the expenditure is not great relatively to the immense interests at stake, and that permanent impressions have been produced upon the minds

and temper of both employers and employed. Unions look upon strikes as mere incidents in their campaigns, and they frequently attribute future successes to what may appear failures in the present.

It is conceded by the most enlightened unionists that strikes, with regard to apprentices and non-union workmen, are injurious rather than otherwise, even when they terminate in favour of the strikers.

But as countries grow into civilisation, constitutional methods of redressing grievances take the place of the revolts of an earlier age, and so should better methods of settling industrial disputes in these days of political rights and extended education, supplant the insurrections of labour. Viewed in the most favourable light, strikes seriously dislocate business, by making it uncertain and difficult; they are costly and wasteful to workmen, manufacturers, and consumers; they are not confined in their effect merely to one class of workers, and in trades that are subject to foreign competition, they may be permanently injurious to the nation by driving trade from the country. The promotion of a more conciliatory feeling between capital and labour, and the earnest consideration of all plans tending to increase the efficiency of the great industrial machine should be matters of the deepest concern to the public at large.

### CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION.

*Boards of Conciliation.*—The final stage of a labour dispute is usually some kind of a conference between masters and men, at which terms are arranged and agreed upon. It is obvious that such conferences to reason out

the matters in dispute on fairly equal terms and in an amicable spirit at the outset of a dispute, would often have the effect of averting strikes altogether. In 1869, a North of England Board of Conciliation and Arbitration for the Manufactured Iron Trades was formed. Disputes, frequent, bitter, and often riotous, had occurred in these trades, and difficulties, in consequence of alterations in the modes of manufacture or work, fluctuations in price, etc., were great. In a period of seventeen years, this Board adjusted some 800 disputes, and clearly demonstrated the fact that a common ground for the discussion of trade disputes between masters and men can prevent industrial warfare to a considerable extent. Such a Board discusses the principles and details of wage-arrangements with reference to the current condition of labour, and when it agrees, its decisions are binding on the whole of the trade in the district. In the coal and iron trades, some Boards have aimed at graduating the rate of payment by means of what is called a "Sliding Scale." A standard price and a standard wage are fixed upon, when trade is recognised by both sides to be normal; and it is agreed that as the selling price of the commodity rises or falls above or below the standard level, so wages shall rise or fall by a corresponding, though generally, a smaller percentage. Though disputes are not uncommon where a sliding scale is agreed upon, such an arrangement has, generally speaking, worked without serious disturbance to the trade in the particular districts in which it obtains. A sliding-scale arrangement is at present in operation in the collieries of South Wales and South Staffordshire.

The most important step yet taken in organising a system

of conciliation in labour disputes followed close on the heels of the Dockers' Strike in 1889, which was really settled by arbitration. The scheme was prepared by representatives of capital and labour, assisted by various public men of widely different views, all of whom were convinced of the necessity of substituting industrial peace for industrial war. The leading features of the "London Conciliation Board," which is affiliated to the London Chamber of Commerce, are as follows: Twelve members representing capital or employers, twelve members representing labour and elected by the *employés*, together with representatives from the separate Trade Conciliation Committees, and aided by six men of special standing, experience, or authority, three to be appointed by the representatives of capital and three by the representatives of labour, form the Council, which is elected triennially. Their duties are "to promote amicable methods of settling labour disputes and the prevention of strikes and lock-outs generally." In the first instance, they invite the parties to a dispute to a friendly conference, and, in case of a want of agreement, they invite the disputants to lay their respective cases before the committee, with a view to receiving their advice, mediation, or assistance. The Council will not constitute itself a body of arbitrators, except at the express desire of both parties to the dispute, and will, in the first instance, refer to a conciliation committee of the particular trade to which the disputants belong, any dispute coming before the Board. These separate Trade Conciliation Committees are composed of equal numbers of employers and employed, and such committees, representing a trade employing more than 1,000 persons, being affiliated to the Board, can send

two representatives, one an employer, the other an operative, respectively elected by the class to which they belong to the Board. The main object of the Board is "to bring the interested parties together, for the purpose of discussion and explanation at the earliest stage of any difficulty, with the view of preventing the difficulty reaching the acute stage of strike or lock-out, arbitration being only suggested in the last resort." This Board was successful in its first attempt at conciliation, and it is generally recognised as a body actuated by a spirit of fairness, and well worthy of the respect and confidence of the Metropolitan trades. The coalowners and miners of Northumberland have constituted a similar Board with an independent chairman, who is to be present during every Board meeting, and whose decision shall be binding upon both parties in all cases where they fail to mutually agree. Similar bodies are springing up in different parts of the country, and their future is bright with hope. In connection with the question, the following cutting from *The Times* will be of interest:—

"Terms of settlement of the coal dispute agreed upon between the representatives of the Federated Coalowners and of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, at a conference held at the Foreign Office on Friday, November 17th, 1893, Lord Rosebery, K.G., in the chair.

"(1) That a board of conciliation be constituted forthwith, to last for one year at least, consisting of an equal number of coalowners and miners' representatives, fourteen of each. They shall at their first meeting endeavour to elect a chairman from outside, and, should they fail, will ask the Speaker of the House of Commons to nominate one.* The chairman to have a casting vote.

"That the board, when constituted, shall have power to determine from time to time the rate of wages on and from February 1st, 1894."

In 1893, the President of the Board of Trade brought in a Bill, afterwards withdrawn, to make provision for con-

* The Speaker nominated Lord Shand as chairman.

ciliation and arbitration in labour disputes. It was intended to give the Board power to appoint Conciliation Boards, and to afford facilities for the extension of the principle of arbitration.

*Boards of Arbitration.*—The aim of conciliation is to remove the causes of discontent and to prevent strife; arbitration steps in when dissensions have already arisen, and mutual attempts at conciliation have failed. When employers and workmen agree so far as to submit the case to the calm consideration of a cool-headed and trusted umpire or referee, or a Board of such men, appointed either by the consent of the parties or by superior authority, and also express themselves willing to abide by the award given, the case is said to be referred to arbitration. Arbitration has only been partially successful in dealing with labour disputes. Suspicion and prejudice with regard to the arbitrators, followed by a tendency to repudiation or evasions of the award, and the absence of any definite principles to serve as a basis upon which awards may be founded, seem to be the difficulties in the way of success. Systematic arbitration has made little advance, though unionists have, by resolution, expressed their desire for the establishment of self-supporting Local Boards or Councils of Arbitration in the chief industrial centres of the United Kingdom. The attention of Parliament has of late been largely given to the question.

---

Annually a Trade Unions Congress, for the discussion of labour matters from a Union point of view, is held. In 1893, 380 delegates, representing one million workers, met in Belfast.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES.

"The habit of providence and the habit of association may be said to be the two pillars of civilisation. . . . . Co-operation is founded on these two principles, and thus it is a civilising influence of the highest kind. . . . . Providence is its lesson, and association its school."—DR. LIGHTFOOT, Bishop of Durham.

THE general purpose of those associations of working-people known as Co-operative Societies, is to undertake the business of trading and manufacture in such a manner that the gains which result may be fairly shared by all concerned, whether workers or consumers. In such co-operative undertakings there are three groups of persons who may receive a share of the profits: (1) those who provide the capital; (2) those who are customers to the business; and (3) those who provide the labour. In some co-operative societies all these groups share in the division of profits, the capitalists according to the amount of their capital, the customers according to the amount of their purchases, and the workmen according to their wages, or in other ways. Usually, however, in societies, other than those engaged in manufacturing operations, the division of profits is confined to the two first classes. The dividend or profit paid to

capital is generally at a fixed rate, and never exceeds five per cent. But co-operation, as understood by the able and devoted men who have given their best energies to its propagation, is much more than mere associative shop-keeping; it is an earnest faith that, by the application of the principle of association and the habit of providence, the mass of the population may be raised socially, morally, and intellectually. To them, co-operation has two direct aims: (1) Moral—to promote truth, just dealing, and equity; (2) Economical—to prevent that waste in production and exchange which grows out of unregulated competition. Professor Fawcett has declared that "Co-operation cannot succeed without calling forth many of the highest qualities of man's intellectual and moral nature."

The most familiar agency in co-operative work is the Distributive Society, or the Retail Co-operative Store. A person who wishes to become a member of such a store, and membership is open to all, men and women alike, is first required to deposit a small sum, such as 1s. 3d., as an entrance fee. The member can then purchase goods just as in a shop, at the ordinary market price of the town and village, by paying *ready money* over the counter. When the purchases are completed, the member receives a token, representing the value of the purchases made. At the end of the quarter, the profit—that is, the difference between the cost price of the goods plus all expenses and the prices charged to the customer—is calculated, and a certain dividend is declared on every pound spent in the store. The member then returns his tokens to the store, and for every pound he has spent, he is credited with the amount of dividend

declared. This amount, with the exception of a sum equal to threepence per week per share, which is retained until the member possesses a one pound share, may be withdrawn, though members are encouraged to let their dividend accumulate in the store, as in a savings bank, five per cent. per annum—double the Post Office Savings Bank interest—being paid on it. Thus, in time, by simply paying ready money for his goods, a consumer may find himself the possessor of £50 or £100, invested in the store. No member may hold more than £200 worth of shares, but whether he hold the full or the minimum amount, he has a voice and a vote, and only one vote, in the meetings of the society. The earlier co-operative stores aimed at supplying their members with good and pure articles at the lowest possible rates, and what profit there was went to those who supplied the capital. In 1844, twenty-eight working-men of Rochdale collected by instalments the sum of £28, founded a store, and adopted, successfully, the principles which are now universal in the Distributive Societies, viz., dividing profits on the amount of purchases, making all members shareholders, and limiting the interest paid on capital to five per cent. The aims of these pioneers were high, but despite ridicule, opposition, and legal and commercial difficulties, the society flourished and gave a new impetus to the cause. Their objects comprised a threefold scheme of "equity, thrift, and education."

In 1892, this humble beginning had developed into a Central Store, with twenty-five branches and 11,884 members. It had departments for grocery, drapery, butchering, tailoring, shoemaking, and building. It possessed business and manufacturing premises, offices, waiting-rooms, a news-

room, a library of 12,000 volumes, and a hall capable of seating 2,000 persons. The amount of business done by it in 1892 was £302,454, and the profits reached £35,165. From the first, this society set the excellent example of devoting two-and-a-half per cent. of its profits to the work of education. The enormous expansion of the Distributive side of co-operation in England can be gathered from the following tabulated statement:—

| Year. | No. of Societies. | No. of Members. | Capital. | Annual Sales. | Profits. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | £ | £ | £ |
| 1862 | 450 | 90,000 | 450,000 | 2,350,000 | 166,000 |
| 1872 | 920 | 340,000 | 3,340,000 | 13,000,000 | 935,500 |
| 1882 | 1,200 | 640,000 | 8,000,000 | 25,500,000 | 2,100,000 |
| 1893 | 1,655 | 1,240,013 | 17,321,014 | 50,593,311 | 4,789,680 |

The chief advantages co-operative stores claim to offer to their members are: (1) They claim to supply better articles than small retail shops, at the ordinary market price of the district; (2) they divide the profits among the purchasers, in proportion to the amount laid out by them at the store during the quarter; (3) they enable members to save without effort, and so become capitalists in a small way; (4) five per cent. interest is paid on savings invested in the society; (5) they assist in training their members in the practice of economy and providence, in fostering their self-reliance, self-control, and capacity for business management; (6) by means of libraries, lectures, concerts, and other educational agencies they endeavour to bring the advantages of intellectual knowledge and intellectual pleasure within the reach of their members, and finally, they tend to encourage a wider sympathy with public aims and a fuller and more intelligent desire for the well-being of the community.

Some objections raised against co-operative stores are: that they tend to become close corporations of small capitalists, with an absorbing desire for "dividend" and for little else; that they are false to their own principles in giving an inadequate share of the profits, or no share at all, to their servants; that they are hard on small shopkeepers; and that they do not contribute their full quota to the taxation of the country. Professor Stuart sees a danger to co-operation in its increase of capital being more rapid than the increase of the education of co-operators. He calls education the "life's necessity for co-operators," and urges them to counteract this danger by instructing themselves in economic science, in the facts and history of commerce and trade, in the principles and details of their particular movement, and by fostering the general education of their members in the best possible manner. In 1892 the co-operative societies of the United Kingdom expended some £33,000 in the educational improvement of their members, in the formation and maintenance of reading-rooms and libraries, in the provision of lectures and science and art classes. Scholarships have been founded at Oxford, and in the programme of the most enlightened co-operators education has an increasingly prominent place. The Educational Committee of the Co-operative Union now holds examinations in Auditing, Book-keeping, and the Principles of Co-operation, and grants certificates to successful students. A prosperous store generally employs its surplus capital in building or purchasing business premises, in building houses for members, in lending money to co-operative productive societies or wholesale dealing societies, in making investments in railways, stocks or shares. and in repaying capital to members.

The last method of dealing with surplus capital is deprecated by the leaders of the movement.

As instancing the accumulation of funds by co-operators, it may be mentioned that one society has invested £80,000 in railway shares, and that £110,000 of co-operators' money is invested in the Manchester Ship Canal.

The co-operation of the retail societies for using their capital and energies in securing the profits to be obtained by co-operative effort in the wholesale trades, has brought into being a gigantic society known as the "English Wholesale Co-operative Society." The societies belonging to it are required to take up a £5 share for every ten members they have, and the profits are divided in proportion to the trade done. The wholesale society supplies the retail societies, and year by year it opens new branches, or extends its business in some other way. It is managed by a committee in Manchester, and branch committees in Newcastle and London. The society has selling branches in various large towns, buying branches, for the purchase of butter, etc, in Ireland, together with purchasing agencies in New York, in Hamburg, and in Copenhagen. It owns some half-dozen steamers, and its buildings in Manchester, Newcastle, and London are worth over £350,000. The banking department of the "Wholesale" divides its profits among its customers, in proportion to the amount of the interest and commission debited or credited to them. A similar wholesale society exists in Scotland; 1,002 societies in England and 274 in Scotland have combined in these wholesale societies, and their distributive and productive business amounts to £12,405,672 annually.

*Co-operative Production* is that form of co-operation

which seeks to dispense with the employing class, by making the labouring classes their own manufacturers and employers. It is in the solution of this most difficult problem that co-operators look for a general amelioration of the condition of the working classes. In such productive societies, the employer's place is taken by a manager at a salary far less than an employer's usual profits. The balance is available for distribution among the workers, the shareholders and consumers. A share out of the profits, in addition to wages, may be given to the employed to stimulate them to honesty and industry; thrift may be encouraged by payment of an extra premium on the capital invested; and a larger business may be secured by returning something to the consumers in proportion to the amount of their purchases. In such societies, the workmen are the employers of their own managers and foremen. Their personal interests should secure honest and efficient conduct of the business; their watchfulness should speedily detect laxity, incompetence, and maladministration; and some of the work of superintendence should be unnecessary. More faithful workmanship, a larger business, and a greater facility of borrowing capital might be expected as the special advantages such a society would have over a private employer. But, unfortunately, these hopes have not been largely realised; workmen are not always the best masters, jealousies and divided interests are apt to spring up, the wages of those who manage the business are often begrudged, and their hands tied. Some co-operators in these productive societies have suffered from their reluctance to offer a sufficient salary to attract alert, interested, able, and energetic managers. But, as working-men edu-

cate themselves to successfully undertake the complex work of business management, as confidence and trust increase among them, and as the principle of co-operation gains ground so as to make the ablest of them ready to prefer a moderate competence to the precarious possibility of great wealth, so these societies may reasonably be expected to attain a far greater measure of success in the future than has attended them in the past. The success of the retail societies in amassing capital for their members has already been commented upon. The stores actually accumulate more capital than they can employ in their shops, and the perplexing question "What shall we do with it?" has to be faced. This surplus capital, said to amount roughly to five million pounds, may be used for productive purposes; it may be invested in private trading concerns, or returned to the members. Some co-operators urge that the store, blessed with a large surplus capital, should set to work to supply its own wants. It should manufacture the boots, which it now only repairs, it should tan its own leather, purchase and stock a farm so as to provide its own milk and vegetables, beef and mutton, and grind its own corn. If all these things are not possible to its unaided efforts, let it federate, say they, into a combination of stores and employ the united capital in this way. Or, let the wholesale societies, which represent the co-operation of stores, employ this surplus capital on behalf of the stores. The whole profit of such undertakings in the opinion of these co-operators must go back to the customer, and a bonus will only be given to labour when it can be proved to pay, by creating additional profit. These co-operators wish for "an organisation of the whole community" on the basis of

the retail store. Other co-operators contemplate production by independent unions of workers, encouraged to develop their work in their own way, capitalised by the workmen themselves, by individual co-operators, or by the stores, and finding their customers in the stores or in the open market. They urge that by this means the elevation of the worker will be accomplished, that the labourer will be lifted out of the position of a hired servant and given a share in the proceeds of his own labour. Co-operators are divided on this question, and have not, as yet, displayed sufficient courage and enterprise to profitably employ their surplus capital in great productive undertakings.

The English Wholesale Society engages in the production of boots and shoes at Leicester and Heckmondwike, soap at Durham and Crumpsall, woollen goods at Batley and Leeds, corn-milling at Dunston-on-Tyne, and manufactures large quantities of biscuits, sweets, jams, and other groceries at various places. The Scottish Wholesale manufactures boots and shoes, shirts, tobacco, and confectionery, and carries on tailoring, cabinet-making, and printing works, with branches at Dundee, Leith, and Kilmarnock.

The servants of the English Wholesale Productive Department receive no bonus on their wages, but the rule is reversed in the Scottish society.

Individual stores often carry on tailoring, baking, dressmaking, and other businesses. Twenty-six societies do corn-milling business, with sales of £1,800,000 annually, but their *employés* as a rule receive no share of the profits.

Co-operative workshops have made but comparatively little progress in England, though it is claimed that the

productive side of the Co-operative movement is now advancing even more rapidly than the distributive. Recent returns show that while the distributive side has grown 15 per cent., the productive has increased nearly 50 per cent. in the same time. Messrs. A. H. Acland and Jones, in their admirable "Working Men Co-operators," give a list of twenty-two such manufacturing societies which existed in 1884. Of fourteen of these societes half divide the profits between shareholders and workers; six make a division between shareholders, customers, and workers; and only one society offers no share of the profits to its workmen. In some of these societies all the workers are shareholders, in others only a portion of the capital is supplied by them. These societies are engaged in the manufacture of hosiery, alpacas, cords, calico, watches, nails, damask table-linen, quilts, flannels, fustians, silk thread, elastic web, knives and scissors, boots, locks, etc.

The Hebden Bridge Fustian Manufacturing Society, started in 1870, originated among a few fustian-cutters who subscribed threepence per week in the hope of ultimately acquiring sufficient capital to employ themselves. At first, they confined their operations to fustian cutting in the evenings, after their day's work was done, and the wages so earned went towards the share account. At the end of their first half-year, December, 1870, their capital was £83, the number of members was 95, the trade done amounted to £55, and there was a profit, after paying off the initial expenses, of £3 1s. 8d. In 1874, the society bought premises for £7,000 and added the manufacture of ready-made clothing and the processes of dyeing and finishing to its other occupations. In 1891, £40,000 worth of trade was

done, and the profits reached £3,723. Two hundred and sixty-six co-operative societies and 192 individuals, most of them workpeople in the employ of the society, comprise the members. The profits of the workers are credited to their share account until they have £20 invested in the society. Since its formation £3,223 has been paid as bonus on wages to the workpeople.

A co-operative insurance company, several farming societies, and, in Ireland, 30 co-operative creameries exist. Altogether there are, at present, about 170 productive societies in existence.

In the thirty-two years over which statistics of co-operation extend, £639,363,222 worth of business has been done, and the profits made have amounted to £53,716,722.

For the purposes of organisation, educational and propagandist work, a Co-operative Union was formed in 1869, the year in which the first Co-operative Congress was held. A Central Co-operative Board was then formed, consisting of London and provincial members. Now, this Board consists of seven sections—the Irish, Midland, Northern, North Western, Scottish, Southern, and Western, and comprises sixty-four ordinary and seven honorary members. These seven Sectional Boards meet twice a year—once on the Saturday before the meeting of Congress, and once on the Wednesday of the Congress week—to discuss and revise their report to Congress and to transact other necessary business. The Sectional Boards meet monthly at their own centres and do all in their power to assist in the management, stimulation, and development of co-operative enterprise. The governing body of the Union is the United Board, the

Boards. The enrolment of societies in the Union is conditional on the payment of a halfpenny per quarter per member, and about 1,000 societies are so enrolled in Great Britain.

The objects of the Union are as follows :—

"This Union is founded to promote the practice of truthfulness, justice, and economy in production and exchange.

"1. By the abolition of all false dealing, either (*a*) direct, by representing any article produced or sold to be other than what it is known to the producer or vendor to be ; or (*b*) indirect, by concealing from the purchaser any fact known to the vendor, material to be known by the purchaser to enable him to judge of the value of the article purchased.

"2. By conciliating the conflicting interests of the capitalist, the worker, and the purchaser, through an equitable division among them of the fund commonly known as profit.

"By preventing the waste of labour now caused by unregulated competition."

The Union circulates a large number of tracts, pamphlets, etc., and holds annually a Congress to hear addresses from the ablest and most prominent supporters of the system, to elect officers, and to discuss papers and proposals bearing on Co-operation. Two other societies are active in propagandist work—The Guild of Co-operators and the Women's Co-operative Guild. A weekly penny newspaper, *The Co-operative News*, having a circulation of nearly 40,000 copies is devoted to the interests of the Co-operative Movement.

## CHAPTER IX.

### FRIENDLY SOCIETIES.

As we have endeavoured to show, Trade Unions and Friendly Societies had a common historical origin, but, since the beginning of the present century, these associations have been developing themselves on separate but parallel lines. The Trade Union is restricted to members of the same handicraft, while the Friendly Society is, as a rule, general and open to all comers; the Trade Union deals primarily with questions of wages, hours of labour, conditions of employment, etc., while the Friendly Society does not touch these questions. Friendly Societies, except in a very small degree, know nothing of the "Out-of-work Fund" which is the characteristic feature of the modern Trade Union; but still the two are sufficiently alike to be registered in one Government department, and to be under the supervision of the same Registrar.

Friendly Societies may be defined as "insurance societies based on mutual principles." Any single individual, trusting to his own unaided efforts for support in ill health and old age is in a very different position from those who are members of a Friendly Society, for, however industrious and thrifty he may be, the occurrence of any accident, or an obstinate fit of sickness, may throw him out of employment, and, by forcing him to consume his savings, reduce him to poverty. It has been calculated, that between the ages of

27147



eighteen and fifty, the average working-man has one day's sickness in every forty-five days. The best and cheapest way of providing for the misfortunes enumerated above is to unite with others. Even supposing a member of a Friendly Society should be so fortunate as never to come upon its fund during his lifetime, he nevertheless enjoys a feeling of security against want and a consciousness of independence

The societies which come under the Friendly Societies Act of 1875, amended in 1887, include Friendly Societies proper, with their branches, Benevolent Societies, Cattle Insurance Societies, Working Men's Clubs, Co-operative Societies, Building Societies, Trade Unions, Certified Loan Societies, Trustee Savings Banks, Railway Savings Banks, and certain Scientific and Literary Societies certified for exemption from rates. A Friendly Societies' Registry, controlled by a Chief Registrar, is established for registration and Government recognition of these societies, and though registration is not compulsory, it is generally adopted in the highest class of societies. A return is required to be sent to the Registrar every year of the funds and effects of each registered society during the preceding year, and at intervals of five years a valuation has to be made, by a competent person, as to the value of the assets and the liability it has incurred in its promises to pay certain benefits. A series of provisions, securing a number of powers and facilities, and insuring the full publicity of their arrangements, both to the Chief Registrar and to the members, is established for the registered societies. The Chief Registrar is authorised and bound to intervene, either on the demand of a portion of the members, or by virtue of his office, even to the extent of interfering with their registration, whenever

such societies commit irregularities or breaches of the Act. Societies which are registered, are more likely to command confidence on the part of the public than unregistered ones, for publicity and conformity to the regulations established, are guarantees, to a certain extent, of solidity and stability.

By the Act of 1875, Friendly Societies which may be registered, are such as are established by voluntary subscriptions of their members for any or all of the following purposes:—

1. For the relief or maintenance of the members, their wives, families, and relatives, during sickness or other infirmity, whether bodily or mental, in old age (that is any age after fifty), or in widowhood, or for the relief or maintenance of the orphan children of members.
2. For insuring money to be paid on the birth of a member's child, or on the death of a member, or for the funeral expenses of the husband, wife, or child of a member, or of the widow of a deceased member.
3. For the relief or maintenance of members when on travel in search of employment, or when in distressed circumstances, or in case of shipwreck or loss or damage of or to boats and nets.
4. For the endowment of members or nominees of members at any age.
5. For the insurance against fire, to any amount not exceeding £15, of the tools or implements of the trade or calling of the members.

The gross sum insured in these societies may not be for

more than £200, nor for an annuity of more than £50, which includes all sums received from "any one or more such societies." The life of a child under five years of age cannot be insured for more than £6, and that of a child under ten for more than £10. The returns of the Registrar for 1892 show that some 29,287 societies under the Act, made returns. These societies comprised more than eleven million members, and had funds exceeding one hundred million pounds. The spread and growth of these societies during the present century is simply enormous. "The English workman regards with pride the Friendly Societies as his own work. With them are connected the labours, the aspirations, and very frequently the disappointments of his father, but also the progress and success of his children; and on this account he clings with tenacity to the free development of them. Founded by men belonging to the operative class, before the subject of insurance in any shape was understood by even those far above them in the social scale, they have steadfastly kept their object in view, till at the present time these societies have obtained such a position numerically—have accumulated such an enormous aggregate capital—that they have forced on the nation at large a consideration of the work they are doing. . . . . They have provided means of thrift and self-independence to a class which would not have been reached by any other agency, and have laid deeply the foundation of provident habits among the mass of our population." Advantageous as have been such societies, it must be admitted that they have too often been delusive, thousands of them have in earlier days collapsed, and the solvency of many of them is even now doubtful. The most prominent feature in their present condition is

the effort to render them financially stable under a growing system of State supervision.

We shall now briefly glance at some of the various forms of the English Friendly Societies.

*Dividing Societies.*—These kinds of friendly societies are of a purely local nature. Though widely spread, many of them are unregistered. In their primitive form they are usually known as "Sharing-out Clubs," and are the simplest and oldest form of relief societies. A fund is accumulated by means of entrance fees and subscriptions, out of which the members' sickness and burial expenses are paid, and the surplus remaining at the end of a year, or a longer period, is divided among the members as a bonus. If these societies become consolidated, and provide annually a proper reserve fund, they become Dividing Societies, or "Tontines." All these societies combine the object of insurance with those of thrift—they insure against sickness and death, and in a addition periodically pay a dividend. In the Birmingham Provident Sick Society—one of this class—members pay an entrance fee of 3s. 6d., with fortnightly contributions, for those from 16 to 20 years of age, of 6d. to the sick, and 1½d. to the management fund. For this contribution they are entitled to a weekly sick allowance of 5s. for the first 52 weeks, and 2s. 6d. for the remainder of the sickness. For members over 20, these contributions and benefits are doubled. The sum payable on the death of a member, if under 20 years, is £10, which is raised by a levy, and if over 20 years of age £20. £8 is similarly payable on the death of the member's wife. The overplus at the end of the year, after paying all claims, is divided among the members, but each member must leave

1s. surplus in the hands of the treasurer for the reserve fund.

*Certain Local Village, Town, and Country Societies* owe their existence to the interest and patronage of clergymen, magistrates, landlords, etc., who, in the past, have devoted money and time to the extension of these institutions for mutual benefit. All these societies are distinguished by the possession of honorary members, subscribing but taking no benefit, by the fact that generally their meetings are not held in public-houses, and by various sound methods of assurance. Gradually, however, the management of these patronised societies has become transferred to the ordinary members.

*Deposit Friendly Societies.*—Though registered under the Friendly Societies' Acts, these societies are rather savings banks, which ingeniously attempt to supply most of the objects aimed at by Friendly Societies. The Hon. and Rev. Samuel Best originated this system of connecting the benefit allowances with the amount of savings, and making the former depend on the latter. The amount of relief in case of sickness is based, not simply on the amount of insurance, but also on the amount of savings deposited in the bank, the arrangement being, that allowances are derived partly from an insurance fund and partly from the individual member's credit with the society, the claim to such allowances practically ceasing as soon as the member's own fund is exhausted.

*Burial Societies.*—A large group of societies exist only for the purpose of providing a sum of money to defray funeral expenses. If they combine sick insurances with this object, it is only a subordinate part of their business. The *Local Burial Societies* have grown out of the custom of sending

round the hat, on the decease of a fellow-workman, to collect something for his funeral and family. The first step in their organisation is to "keep one death in hand." When regular subscriptions replace the levy, and the benefit is limited, the ordinary burial society is formed. "The Burial Club," says Sir George Young, "which survives a generation is an exception." In spite of their tendency to decline and mismanagement, they are very numerous, more especially in Lancashire. *The General Collecting and Burial Societies* are not confined to particular districts, and their members are recruited by an army of "touting" collectors. These bodies are hardly societies at all, since their members have little concern in, and little knowledge of, their management. The interest of the collectors to a large extent governs the management, and in some cases has led to grave abuses. The "business" done by these societies, especially in seafaring and manufacturing towns, is enormous. Their methods are frequently objectionable, and there is often much extravagance in their management. The high mortality amongst infants in many large towns, has given rise to suspicions that it may be partly owing to the insurance money due on their deaths. This painful impression has been the subject of Parliamentary enquiry.

*Ordinary Large (or General) Societies.*—These take the form of large centralised offices for life insurance, and the most important of them are managed from London. They have frequently thousands of members, who pay their premiums to agents, and receive sick pay, old age provision, and burial benefits in the same manner. Their members are mostly well-paid artisans, clerks, tradesmen, etc. One of the largest and best-managed of these societies is the

Hearts of Oak Benefit Society. *Particular Trade Societies:* Though the ruling tendency in Friendly Societies is opposed to their operation being confined to a particular class, large Friendly Societies, mainly for insurance against accident, exist amongst coal-miners. Each mining district has its society, and, prior to the Employers' Liability Act, they were largely aided by the contributions of the colliery proprietors. Disabled miners receive from 5s. to 8s. a week, or less if permanently disabled, and the widows or heirs of the victims of fatal accidents, receive sums varying from £20 to £23. Burial money and allowances to widows and orphans are also provided.

Connected with many large establishments and undertakings are a large number of Friendly Societies, frequently patronised and supervised by the companies forming them. The railway companies have founded such societies, and have provided retiring, temporary disablement, and death allowances for their *employés*, in a comprehensive manner. One of the most successful of the smaller societies is the Teachers' Provident Society.

The most important class of Friendly Societies consists of the Affiliated Societies, or *Working Men's "Orders."* The most important of these are the Manchester Unity or the Independent Order of Oddfellows and the Ancient Order of Foresters. According to the report of the year ending October, 1892, the total adult membership of the Manchester Unity was 709,403, and the juvenile membership 82,242. The total capital of the Order exceeds eight million pounds. The number of male benefit members of the Ancient Order of Foresters in 1892 was 717,871, and the total of all kinds of members is now 862,859, of which

18,871 are honorary members; the juvenile membership roll in 1893 reached 107,622. Its funds amount to over five million pounds. The Manchester Unity was founded in 1822, and its members are scattered not only over the whole kingdom, but throughout most of the colonies. The Foresters date their origin back to more than a century ago, and have established flourishing branches in every part of the globe. The Manchester Unity holds a prominent place as regards its efforts to improve its actuarial and financial position. The motto of the Order is "Friendship, Love, and Truth," and even now it seeks to exercise a moral influence over its members. The motto of the Foresters is "Unity, Benevolence, and Concord." These two orders consist of a large number of local branches called Lodges or Courts, which are independent, within certain lines, and have their own rules, receipts, expenditure, and funds. Above them all is a central body, the Annual Moveable Committee in the Manchester Unity, and the "High Court" in the Foresters Order, consisting of an annual assembly of delegates from all the branches. Formerly most of the branches met in public-houses, but this has been largely altered, and many of the branches now meet in more suitable places. Sick insurance is conducted exclusively by the branches, though attempts have been made to extend sick risks to Districts—these Districts being a federation of local branches for equalising funeral benefits. The amount of sick benefit, which includes accident insurance, varies from six shillings to fourteen shillings per week. For a certain time—varying from six to twelve months—the member receives the full amount, and after that the sum is reduced. The insurance

of a sum payable at death is also mostly managed by the branches, though the rule is to transfer the provision of the funeral benefits to districts. Widow and orphan insurances are undertaken, and temporary relief to members in distressed circumstances is given by many branches. There are also central funds in existence for the relief of distressed branches, and the question of superannuation has received considerable attention, though the provision has not as yet been largely taken advantage of by the members.

*Friendly Societies and Reforms.*—In the earlier days of Friendly Societies abuses were common, and insolvency, dissolution, mismanagement, and dishonesty were matters of frequent occurrence. Societies which levied sums to cover the expenses of sickness or burial, when occasion arose, found their burdens continually and rapidly increasing as members grew older, and made greater demands on the funds. Unable to meet their liabilities, a large number of the small societies fell to pieces, and many members, who had subscribed almost for a lifetime, were forced to end their days in the workhouse. When regular weekly or monthly subscriptions took the place of occasional levies, and a reserve fund was accumulated, societies, having nothing to guide them, were tempted to offer benefits out of all proportion to the payments received from the members. Only by the constant influx of new young members could such societies discharge their obligations. Often it came about that young people refused to join, or they left the society to commence another. The reserve fund was then drawn upon, gradually exhausted, the society dissolved, and the members' provision for the future was gone. Sometimes a majority of members dissolved a solvent so

ciety to share its funds, and thus avoid the burden of supporting their old members. Frequently the general meetings of some of the societies were nothing but drinking bouts, in which a considerable portion of the receipts was expended. Systematic book-keeping was too often unknown, and ignorant secretaries bungled and mismanaged societies into bankruptcy. In 1867 it was stated that over four thousand persons who had belonged to such ill-starred societies were ending their days in the workhouses of England and Wales. It is only fair to say that this statement has been strongly disputed. From 1793 to 1887 a long series of Acts have introduced an element of compulsion with regard to these societies, but the better societies have spontaneously done much to set their houses in order. They have substituted a safe and well-calculated system of graduated contributions for the old fixed payments, they have improved the management of their branches by introducing rational and uniform rules, and correct methods of book-keeping, together with a safer and more remunerative investment of capital. They have also compelled the separation of the different benefit, management, and other funds of the branches, and have constituted them on a firm basis. Accurate statistical knowledge has been sought and diffused by careful mathematical investigators at considerable cost to the Orders; better educated men are now entrusted with the reins of management, and the action of the State has wisely been in the direction of encouraging these efforts of self-government and reform.

The social value of the Working Men's Orders may be gathered from the words of a member: "We, who are in such a society, look upon a lodge as a small family party.

contact with each other; we are all interested in each other's welfare in regard to health, sickness, and misfortune."

*Voluntary Associations and the Education of the Adult Citizen.*—Membership of one or other of these three great institutions for self-help, Trade Unions, Co-operative Societies; and Friendly Societies is also of great advantage to working men and women in an indirect way. Members are taught to practise thrift and providence, forethought and self-restraint. The principle of self-government fosters their self-reliance and independence; their sense of duty to themselves; to their families and fellow members is elevated; they learn the value of union, the necessity of law and order, and respect for the rights of all. Thus, they are encouraged to be no longer mere inactive members of society, but to extend their views to the social and political conditions under which they live. Certain men in each society learn how to govern; they are entrusted with the conduct of business; they are encouraged to gain an insight into the commercial, industrial, and economic relations of life; they learn, by experience, the value of calm and temperate judgments, moderation in demands, and adherence to constitutional methods of rectifying abuses. From a moral, intellectual, and political point of view, membership of such self-governing societies is of real and growing importance to the nation at large. Uniting himself with others for specific purposes, broadening his sympathies, widening his views, multiplying his responsibilities, learning first-hand the lesson of "all for each," and "each for all," the citizen is gradually led to appreciate the interdependence of every unit in the State, together with the necessity for a personal concern in its wise administration, and is stimulated to render to the nation of which

## CHAPTER X

### THE STATE AND LABOUR.

*Sketch of the History of English Factory Legislation.*—In 1802, the first Factory Act, the so-called Health and Morals Act, was introduced by the elder Sir Robert Peel. It was ntended to limit the hours of labour in woollen and cotton mills and in factories in which three or more apprentices, or twenty or more of other persons were employed. Under bonds of apprenticeship, as has already been mentioned, workhouse children, girls and boys, were sent to work in the new manufacturing towns of the north. The condition of these apprentices was deplorable in the extreme. They worked night and day, one gang being turned out of their beds to make room for the other. Epidemics arose from overcrowding and ill-ventilation, and morality was at the lowest ebb. The terrible condition of things that existed is seen in the remedial provisions of this Act. Apprentices were to be provided with two complete suits of clothing yearly; the hours of working were not to exceed twelve hours, exclusive of meal times, for which three hours were allowed, and night work was forbidden, with certain exceptions. The apprentices were to be instructed every day for

the first four years in reading, writing, and arithmetic; the sexes were to be separated and not more than two were to sleep in one bed. Twice a year, the rooms were to be washed with quicklime and water, and justices were to be appointed to report on the condition of such mills and to see to the instruction and conduct of apprentices on Sundays. This Act, now wholly repealed, referred directly only to legal apprentices, and great numbers of children employed in factories were without legal protection. In 1819 Sir Robert Peel again brought in a Bill —the second Factory Act—to regulate the labour of children in the great woollen, worsted, and flax mills of Yorkshire. The age at which children could now be admitted to mills was nine years and upwards; night work was again prohibited and a limit of twelve hours work between the ages of nine and sixteen was legalised. In 1825, by the instrumentality of Sir John Cam Hobhouse, another Act was passed, further restricting the hours of labour of children under sixteen, and providing for only nine hours work on Saturday, between the hours of 5 a.m. and 4.30 p.m. No work was to take place in meal hours, a register of children employed, stating the age of the *employés*, authenticated by the signature of parents or guardians, was to be provided and the powers of the justices were confirmed. The earnest appeal of Mr. Sadler and afterwards Lord Ashley for further restraints resulted in the appointment of a Royal Commiss on in 1832. Evidence was produced before it, of children kept working fourteen or fifteen hours a day; of cases of deformity, of stunted growth and relaxed muscles. It was felt that more

vigorous restrictions were urgently needed. In 1833 by Lord Althorp's Act the distinction, still existing, between "children," that is boys and girls between nine and thirteen years of age, and "young persons," those from thirteen to eighteen years, was introduced. Children were not to work more than nine hours a day and were to attend two hours per day in school. To ensure evidence that such children were not working, the "half-time" system of attendance at school was rendered compulsory. An Act creating factory inspectors, rendered necessary by frequent evasions of the law, was subsequently passed. But Factory Legislation did not end here. In 1844 the Factory Act (7 and 8 Vict., c. 15) was passed. The hours of labour of children of eight years and upwards were reduced to six and half per day, three hours attendance at school for five days a week being required. In some cases, alternate days of five hours' schooling and ten hours' labour were permitted. Factories and mills were to be cleared of children and young persons during meal times, and considerable powers, including those formerly belonging to, but neglected by justices, were given to the inspectors. Subsequent Acts further limited hours of labour and fixed the legal working day between six in the morning and six in the evening, and secured a Saturday half-holiday after two o'clock. Other Acts extended these restrictions to nearly all descriptions of manufactures and workshops.

*Modern Factory Legislation.*—Previous to 1891 the Act of 1878 consolidated the law and contained practically all the legislation on the subject. It contained no fewer than 107 sections. This fact, combined with the various alter-

natives, options, and exceptions contained in almost every clause, renders it nearly impossible to make a brief statement of it with accuracy. The first part of the Act contained the general provisions for sanitation, ventilation, and fencing of dangerous machinery, vats, etc., as well as rules regulating the hours of labour for women, young persons, and children. In textile factories, *i.e.*, places for the manufacture of cotton, wool, hair, silk, flax, etc., by steam, water, or other power, the hours of labour for women and young persons might not exceed ten, and Saturday was to be a half-holiday. The hours of child labour are not to exceed 6½ hours per day. These rules were modified in their application to other factories and workshops. Subject to exceptions, a working week of 56½ hours in textile factories and 60 hours in non-textile factories is permitted by this Act. Provision is made for holidays; for ensuring the attendance of children, so employed, at school; for certificates of fitness for employment to be obtained for children and young persons; and for giving notice of accidents to inspectors. The second part relates to particular classes of factories and workshops; restricts the employment of children in special industries; and relaxes the law in favour of certain employments, etc. The third part regulates the appointment of inspectors and certifying surgeons, fixes penalties, and provides for their recovery.

In 1891 no less than five Bills were brought in to amend this Act. Eventually, the Home Secretary's Bill, modified by amendments, received the royal assent. By this Bill, the Local Sanitary Authorities are required to put in force the sanitary provisions of the former Act, but clause 3

enacts that in case of any workshop, factory, or laundry being unsatisfactory as far as cleanliness, ventilation, overcrowding, limewashing, etc., the Home Secretary may direct an inspector to take steps to enforce the violated provisions of the law relating to public health. This power applies to all workshops, whether children are employed or not. After notice to the Sanitary Authority and its default, a factory inspector may himself, in most cases, take action. Special provision is to be made in factories in which more than forty persons are employed in case of fire. With regard to dangerous and unhealthy incidents of employment, special rules and requirements may be made and enforced by this Act. Other sections of the Act have reference to the period of employment for women, overtime, holidays, and certain conditions of labour. On and after January 1st, 1893, no child under the age of eleven years is to be employed at all in a factory or workship.

The "Sweating" System, with its evils of a rate of wages barely sufficient to sustain existence, excessive hours of labour, and the employment of workers in insanitary houses, has received Parliamentary attention since 1889. In 1892 the Home Secretary aimed a blow at this system by requiring every occupier of a factory, and every contractor employed by such an occupier, to keep a list showing the names of all persons directly employed by him, either as workman or contractor, outside the factory or workshop, and the places where they are employed. Such lists are open to inspection by Factory Inspectors and Sanitary Officers, so that the conditions of "sweated" labour may be under supervision. In January, 1893, two women

Factory Inspectors were appointed, and the inspectorial staff has since been increased. In the July number of *The Labour Gazette* for 1893 appeared the following brief explanations of the Acts respecting points on which misunderstandings exist among workers. In textile factories, young persons and women are not to work more than 10 hours a day on ordinary days and 6½ hours on Saturdays, exclusive of meal times. In textile factories overtime is not permitted; in non-textile factories and workshops, young persons and women may work, on ordinary days, 10½ hours, and 7½ hours on Saturdays, exclusive of meal times. Every workshop, however small, if it employs a woman or young person, is subject to these regulations. Parents employing young persons, members of their families, in domestic workshops after 9 p.m. are liable to a penalty. In factories and workshops in which articles of wearing apparel and certain other articles are being made, young persons and women may be employed from 8 a.m. to 10 p.m., with two hours interval for meals, on 48 days in the year, provided due notice is given to the inspector. In August, 1893, the Home Secretary issued an order revoking the order of 1879, and raising the standard of efficiency for full time factory employment of children between thirteen and fourteen years of age to the Fifth Standard, the new regulation to come into force on September 1st, 1894.

*Mines Acts.*—The Coal Mines Regulation Act of 1887 refers to mines of coal, ironstone, shale, and fireclay. It is divided into three parts. Part I. deals with the employment of boys, girls, and women; the mode of ascertaining and paying wages; the arrangement as to shafts, etc., and

the division of mines; enactments as to managers; steps to be taken as to the opening, abandonment, or recommencement of mines or seams; inspectors and inspection; investigations with regard to explosions and accidents, arbitration, and coroners' inquests. Part II. gives a series of general and special rules for the regulation of mines; and Part III. contains the penalties for various offences and the mode of their enforcement. By this Act, no boy under twelve, and no girl or woman of any age, may be employed below ground. No boy of or over twelve may be employed in a mine more than 10 hours per day, or 54 hours per week. No boy or girl under twelve may be employed above ground on the pit banks, and boys, girls, and women may not be employed at all between nine at night and five on the following morning; neither may they be employed on Sundays, or on Saturdays after 2 p.m. Further, this class of workers may not be employed continuously for more than five hours without an interval of half an hour for a meal, nor for more than eight hours a day without an allowance of 1½ hour for meals. Registers stating the name, age, residence, date of first employment, and date of birth for boys and girls must be kept by colliery managers, and the women employed must be registered. The intended employment of boys underground must be reported to the Inspectors of Mines. As a rule, single shafts may not be used; every mine must be under the management of a certified manager; provisions are made for the safety and health of the miners, such as an enforced daily inspection of the mine, withdrawal of the workmen in case of danger, the employment of experienced coal getters, the

fencing of entrances to mines, fly-wheels, exposed parts of machinery, and the mouths of disused or abandoned shafts, etc., the use of regulation safety-lamps, and the carrying out of certain regulations as to ventilators. Special rules are framed, referring to the inspection of mines daily, by a qualified person, at all times by Government inspectors, and by two practical mining engineers, once a month, on behalf of the workmen. A series of particular rules, calculated to prevent dangerous accidents and to provide for the safety, convenience, and proper discipline of the *employés* are also in force. The inspectors have large powers. They may enter, inspect, examine, and enquire into mines and their belongings, with liberty to inspect the books, plans, and documents which the Act orders managers to keep. They exercise a searching supervision and control over everything that tends to avert the most threatening dangers to which mining operations are exposed. The diminution of accidents, traceable to explosions of fire-damp, breakages, and falls in shafts, and also the number of fatal casualties arising from falls of roofs and coal, is a direct result of the caution and care, exercised in conformity with the law, under the supervision of the inspectors.

Other mines are under the Act relating to the Stannaries and to Metalliferous Mines, which are somewhat analagous in their effects to the Act already briefly described. The payment of wages to workpeople in public-houses is strictly forbidden by the Truck Act.

*Women and Children's Labour.*—In dealing with the Factory and Mines Acts we have spoken of the restriction

placed upon the hours of employment of women and children. We have shown that the State ensures the cleanliness and proper ventilation of factories and workshops and prevents overcrowding. Strict provision is also made for the fencing of dangerous machinery, etc., as a precaution against accidents. No children, young persons, or women are allowed to clean machinery in motion, or to work between the fixed and traversing parts of any self-acting machine. The Act of 7 and 8 Vict., cap. 15, enacted that every fly-wheel and the exposed parts of machinery, and every hoist or teagle near to which children or young persons are liable to pass or be employed, as well as all parts of the mill-gearing in a factory, should be securely fenced. Now, the Act of 1891 refers to every hoist without exception. Notice of all accidents must be sent forthwith to the inspectors and certifying surgeons of the district for the purpose of immediate investigation and report. For all persons under the age of sixteen, medical certificates of fitness for employment must be obtained by the occupiers of factories, stating that the persons in question are not incapacitated by disease or bodily infirmity. With regard to the meals of children, young persons, and women, it is provided they are to be at regular hours, and all employment at meal times is absolutely forbidden. They are entitled to have as holidays, in addition to Saturday after 2 p.m., and Sunday, Christmas Day, the whole of either Good Friday or Easter Monday, and also eight half-holidays or four whole holidays in the year, at least half of which must fall between the 15th of March and the 1st of October. In addition to the general provisions already enumerated

there are a number of special regulations for particular works and factories, forbidding altogether, in some cases, the employment of children, young persons, and women, and allowing overtime and night work, though in no case for females, within certain limits and under definite control. A recent provision regulates to a slight extent the employment of mothers. Economists and philanthropists are, generally speaking, strongly on the side of those trade unionists who propose that married women should be "taken out of the mills." Though, by this process, the amount of labour available may be lessened and the income of a house reduced, it must be remembered, as has frequently been urged in these pages, that the amount of earnings is not necessarily the measure of advantages enjoyed. On the 28th July, 1892, a Shop Hours Act was passed, providing that no young persons should be employed in or about a shop for a longer period than 74 hours, including meal times, in any one week. Provision is made that young persons shall not work excessive hours by combining occupation in a factory or workshop with occupation in a shop; notices of the regulations of this Act are to be conspicuously displayed in shops; fines are to be inflicted on occupiers of shops who contravene these rules, and County and Borough Councils are empowered to appoint inspectors to carry out the law. A "shop" is defined to mean retail and wholesale shops, market-stalls, or warehouses in which assistants are employed for hire, and it includes public-houses and refreshment rooms. The Act does not apply to a shop where the only persons employed are members of the same family, living in the shop or in

premises attached to it, or to domestic servants. Attempts are being made in some large towns to remedy the abuse of young children trading in the streets by night.

On March 1st, 1893, Sir John Lubbock moved a resolution in the House of Commons, which was accepted by the Home Secretary and agreed to, "that the excessive and unnecessarily long hours of labour in shops are injurious to the comfort, health, and well-being of all concerned, and that it is desirable to give to local authorities such powers as may be necessary to enable them to carry out the general wishes of the shopkeeping community with reference to the hours of closing.

*Information as to Condition of Workers.*—To undertake the work of "collecting, digesting, and publishing statistical and other information" bearing on labour questions, the Board of Trade Labour Department has been formed. The Department has its office at 43, Parliament Street, London, and the staff consists of a Labour Commissioner, a Chief Labour Correspondent, and three other correspondents, one of them a woman, to look after the interests of women workers, together with some thirty clerks. Local labour correspondents are appointed in most provincial towns of importance, to collect and forward information to the Central Office. A monthly journal,* *The Labour Gazette*, is the organ of the Department, and its aim is to afford accurate information on all labour movements and questions. It is a journal for workmen and others interested in obtaining prompt and accurate knowledge of the condition of work

* Published by Veale, Chifferiel & Co., 31 to 37, Cursitor Street London, E.C. 1d.

and workers, and it stands in the same relation to labour questions as the Board of Trade journal stands to questions of trade and commerce. "Mere questions of opinion" it does not concern itself with, but its object is to provide a sound basis for the formation of opinion.

A Royal Commission on Labour, appointed in April, 1891, has presented a series of exhaustive reports dealing with the labour question in all its manifold bearings, both at home and abroad. Probably never before, in the history of the country, has such a mass of laboriously compiled and well-digested information been placed in the hands of the people at large.

*The Government as an Employer of Labour.*—Directly employed in assisting in the administration of the State Departments are a multitude of officials, little short of half a million in number, who comprise the Civil Service. Most of the clerkships in the Civil Service are now thrown open to public competition. By a system of competitive examination, the State endeavours to guarantee the ability of its *employés*. The tests, candidates are required to undergo, vary, of course, with the importance and difficulty of the work to be done. In the highest grade of the Civil Service the conditions of service are such as to attract men of the best ability and education. The "prizes" in the Lower Division are not so great but the salaries offered are good, the hours of work are by no means excessive, and retiring allowances, of an adequate character, are provided. As might be expected, competition for these posts is excessively keen. Employment in the Civil Service, as a general rule, carries with it remuneration sufficient to enable the

worker to live comfortably, the opportunity of promotion regular hours of work, freedom from an excess of anxiety, and the prospect of superannuation when the day of active exertion has passed.

In addition, the Government employs workpeople in its dockyards, arsenals, ordnance, small-arm, and clothing factories, etc. As a general rule, their conditions of employment are superior to those in vogue in private or joint-stock establishments. There are distinct signs in most Government establishments of a movement towards the realisation of the principle laid down by the House of Commons in reference to dockyard labour, viz., "that no person should, in Her Majesty's Naval establishments, be engaged at wages insufficient for a proper maintenance, and that the conditions of labour, as regards hours, wages, insurance against accident, provision for old age, etc., should be such as to afford an example to private employers throughout the country." In August, 1893, it was decided to put the eight hours day into operation in government workshops. A recent return shows that some fourteen thousand *employés* of the War Office are affected by the new rule. Municipal and other authorities, in carrying out their local duties, directly and indirectly employ workpeople in increasingly large numbers. In gas, water, sewage, and other works, in the construction and repair of roads, bridges, public buildings, in the working of tramways, in carrying out the Public Health Acts, etc., local bodies become employers of labour. In all these cases, it is generally felt that employment is, more or less, on the co-operative principle, and that the public

generally get the benefit of any profit, either in the reduction of price, the relief of taxation, or in the increase of convenience. The conditions of employment of their workers are, as a rule, more generous and less subject to fluctuations than in ordinary trades. Many local authorities in employing contractors stipulate that certain conditions, such as payment of the current rate of wages, etc., shall be fulfilled in the case of workpeople employed in doing the work. The London County Council binds not only contractors, but itself, to abide by the union rate of wages and hours of labour in the different trades. A form of contract with specifications and penalties is embodied in its standing orders, and London contractors, whether for the supply of raw material or manufactured products, are required to carry out its provisions. In the construction of certain sewers, the Council directly employed workmen, without the intervention of middlemen at all, and the saving on one piece of work, so undertaken, was said to be £3,000. In this case, the work was carried out directly, because the contractors failed to observe certain conditions laid down by the Council. It is said that over a hundred bodies have followed the example of the London County Council in insisting on the payment of the union rate of wages.

Owing to the large number of men unemployed in the early part of 1893, various public bodies attempted to provide work for the distressed. Labour Bureaux or Employment Registries were opened by many vestries and local boards, and relief works were generally undertaken. The Sunderland Corporation carried out paving operations by employing "out-of-works," without the intervention of a

contractor. The Local Government Board issued a circular urging the various local authorities to provide suitable work for the unemployed where possible. It appears from a report that ninety-six local authorities took some kind of action, such as providing work at road-making and sewering, stone-breaking, road-sweeping, digging in parks and cemeteries, etc. The wages paid, varied from 1s. a day to 6d. an hour, and various schemes, since duly investigated, were adopted. In London, Millbank prison was demolished by the "unemployed" labourers. Some of the special difficulties attendant on these methods of relieving distress, spring from the danger of dispensing with sufficient enquiry into the circumstances of the men employed, and from the tendency of such agencies to become chronic, and so to attract the shiftless class of incapable labourers rather than the efficient and genuine unemployed, for whom they are specially intended.

---

## CONCLUDING REMARKS.

In the foregoing pages we have viewed industrial life mainly from the standpoint of the worker. We must, however, for a moment, turn our attention to those who engage in the work of business management. In a primitive state of society, we showed that the "employer" did not exist. As the forms of production became many and complex, as machinery displaced hand tools, as large numbers of workpeople become united in carrying out certain processes, as the materials to be worked up into novel forms are gathered from distant lands, and manufactured products

are widely distributed over the globe, as sales come to be conducted on our modern system of credit, as new needs arise and fashions change almost with the hour, the task of directing production in the most effective way is given into the hands of a body of men called "employers," or business men. They "adventure" or "undertake" the risks of employment; they bring together the capital and labour required for the work; they arrange, or "engineer," its general plan, and superintend its minor details. Looking at business men from one point of view, we may regard them as a highly-skilled industrial grade; from another, as "middlemen" intervening between the manual worker and the "consumer." Let us look at some of the faculties required in an ideal manufacturer. First of all he must possess a knowledge of the tools, materials, and technical processes proper to his own trade. He must have a wide commercial knowledge, so as to be able to determine the amount of production necessary to meet the demands of consumers; he must be alert to discover new markets; he must be able to seize the precise moment for introducing new commodities to meet real wants, and be ever ready to improve upon the methods of manufacturing old products; his judgment must be prompt and cautious; he must be venturous, yet wary. Further, he must be a natural leader of men, capable of choosing the right subordinates for the right places, and then, of trusting them fully. His powers of administration and general control must be great; he must inspire faith, by interesting his *employés* in the business, so as to be able to call forth all their energy, enterprise, and invention. Most important and rare are

these qualities, and it is not often that they are combined in one man.

The mere possession of capital does not, to-day, constitute the main qualification for employing labour. A capitalist directly employing labour, without some of the higher qualifications mentioned above, would run a great risk of conducting his operations at total or partial loss. The man especially qualified to conduct business will readily gain the command of capital, for those in possession of it, either unable or not desirous of using it directly in employing labour, will readily lend it to him in the hope of claiming a share of the product of industry.

We have shown that the best way of increasing national material wealth is to increase products, so as to have more to sell. Effective, honest, and intelligent management tends to assist in the increase of production, and is therefore of prime importance to the nation at large. Incompetent, dishonest management in all forms of business and industry has its effect directly and indirectly on every member of the community. It increases the price at which commodities or advantages may be obtained, it diverts wealth into wasteful courses, it diminishes the aggregate sum of benefits available for the nation. Fraud and mismanagement, in varying degrees, besides bringing ruin or discomfort to individuals, tend to paralyse industry, by removing some of that trust and confidence which form the keystone of our modern commercial system

FINIS.

DR. BEACH'S

# HISTORICAL READERS.

*By George BEACH, M.A., LL.D., &c.,*

Author of "A History of Greece," "The Mythology of the Aryan Nations."

STANDARD III. ... ... 10d.

STANDARD IV. ... ... 1s. 0d.

STANDARDS V. & VI. ... 1s. 3d.
(One Vol.)

STANDARD VI. ... ... 1s. 6d.

**Charmingly Illustrated by Gunston.**

A TEACHER writes:—"The Histories cannot be excelled.

A HEAD MASTER writes:—"So pleased, I have at once introduced them.

*The Teachers' Aid* says:—"An admirable selection of lessons, with plenty of scholar's aids, and abundantly illustrated. Its all round excellence should make it popular with teacher and pupils."

*Educational News* says:—"A simple, easily understood narrative of the leading events. Well written and excellently illustrated. Such a vivid story, finely set before the mind in words and the eye in pictures, is an attraction and a joy."

---

## MANGNALL'S QUESTIONS.

Historical and Miscellaneous.

New and Improved Edition.

London: W. [illegible]

Adopted by the London, Bradford, and other School Boards.

# PROBLEMATIC ARITHMETIC.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Standards I. & II. (1 book), | 2d. | Standard V., | 4d. |
| Standard III., Standard IV., | 3d. | Standards VI. & VII. (1 bk.), | 2s. |

Complete Answers, 3d.; Complete Problems, strongly bound in cloth, without Answers, 6d.; Complete Problems, with Answers, 9d.
Each Standard in limp cloth, 1d. extra.

H. S——, Dumfries, writes:—"They are A 1 and splendid for revising work."

C. S. K——, Gray's Inn Road, writes:—"Just the kind of book required."

G. H. D——, Northampton, writes:—"Have now worked through it and shall strongly recommend my Managers to supply them."

S. J. A——, Walthamstow, writes:—"Provide plenty of scope for the practical application of Arithmetic. Of great assistance to teachers and pupils."

## A SECOND SERIES IS JUST READY.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Standards I. & II. (1 book), | 2d. | Standard IV., | 3d. |
| Standard III., | 3d. | Standards VI. & VII. (1 bk.), | 2s. |
| Standard IV., | 3d. | Answers, | 2d. |

Each Standard in limp cloth, 1d. extra. Complete, in cloth, with Answers, 1s.; without, 9d.

*JUST PUBLISHED.*

Adopted by the London, Bradford, and other School Boards.

HOYLE'S

# MENTAL ARITHMETIC PROBLEMS.

INCLUDING

## TOT SUMS AND EXERCISES ON THE METRIC SYSTEM.

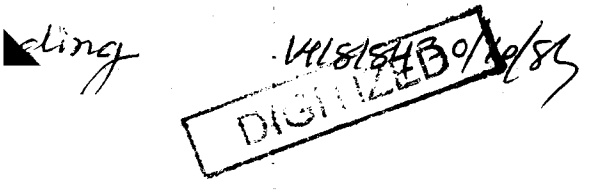
By W. T. HOYLE, Cloughfold Board School, Manchester.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Standards I. and II., | 2d. | Standard V., | 3d. |
| Standard III., | 2d. | Standards VI. and VII., | 3d. |
| Standard IV., | 2d. | Answers, | 2d. |

Complete with Answers, 1s. 6d.; without, 1s. 2d.; in cloth binding, 2s.

[illegible]

00027147


DIGITIZED

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Mr. Sangi
on 12 April, 2019